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ABSTRACT

This Oregon curriculum resource guide about elections is intended for use by secondary social studies teachers who may already be teaching about elections, but need additional information and ideas to integrate into their classes. The guide is organized so that teachers may select individual lessons and activities to use in the existing curriculum, or use an entire unit or several units in sequence in their classes. This guide can be used in many different instructional areas: history, politics, speech and debate, sociology, and law. Three extensive units are included: (1) historical and legal issues; (2) practical information about registration, voting, and elections; and (3) elections and you: becoming a working member of participatory government. Each unit contains the following elements: teaching objectives and sample lesson plans; worksheets, learning guides, and questions for discussion; essays, pre-tests and multiple choice examinations; background information; teaching activity ideas; statistics, charts, cartoons, forms, and other enrichment materials. This guide was produced in Oregon, and some of the materials reflect that state's perspective; yet, the guide is broad in scope and would prove useful for teachers in any state. (DB)

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INTRODUCTION

This is a curriculum resource guide about elections. It has been written for use by secondary teachers who may already be teaching about elections, but need additional information and ideas to integrate into their classes. It is likewise intended for teachers who would like to add lessons or units about elections to their curriculum.

The guide is organized so that teachers may select INDIVIDUAL LESSONS AND ACTIVITIES to use in the existing curriculum, or

use AN ENTIRE UNIT OR SEVERAL UNITS in sequence in their classes.

Each unit contains the following elements:

- Teaching objectives and sample lesson plans,
- Worksheets, Learning Guides, and Questions for Discussion/Essay,
- Pre-Tests and Multiple Choice Examinations,
- Background Information,
- Teaching Activity Ideas,
- Statistics, Charts, Cartoons, Forms, and other Enrichment Materials.

This guide can be used in many different instructional areas: history, politics, speech and debate, sociology, and law--to name a few!

The focus of the guide is to teach students in grades 9-12 about the importance of elections in U.S. and Oregon history, the importance of voting as a legal right, and the balance between individual rights and the administrative needs of government which have been considered in creating the voting and registration laws and regulations which now govern us. The ultimate goal of the guide is to persuade students to participate in democracy by exercising their forthcoming right to vote.

We hope you will find the following materials helpful in teaching your students to better understand our political system and in challenging them to become part of the political process by registering and voting!

Put On Your
Coat And Vote

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Glossary of Election Terms 1
Guidelines for Teaching Controversial Issues 7
Use of Resource Speakers 8

PART I - HISTORICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES 9
  A. Getting Organized 11
     Introduction, Application, Teaching Objectives 13
     Sample Lesson Plan for Teaching Part I 15
     Pre-Test - Objectives 1 and 2 16
     Post-Test - Objectives 1 and 2 17
     Pre-Test - Objectives 3, 4, and 5 20
     Post-Test - Objectives 3, 4, and 5 21
     Answer Keys to Tests 24

  B. Lesson I - Political Theory, the Constitution, and the Right to Vote 25
     Did You Know ...? . . . .
     Women and the Vote: Illustrations, A Fact Sheet, the Issues 28
     Political Theory and the Right to Vote 32
     Political Cartoon Analysis 34
     "Lobbyists Play Changing Role" 35
     What the Constitution Says About Voting and Elections . . 36
     Worksheet: Political Theory and Constitution 41

  C. Lesson II - Decision-Making and Representation 43
     Decision-Making Activity 45
     Follow-Up to Decision-Making Activity 46
     Decision-Making Activity: Student Evaluation Form 47

  D. Lesson III - The Electoral College 49
     The Electoral College 51
     Facts About the Electoral College 52
     Map and Sample Ballot 53
     "For Better or for worse, Electoral College still prevails". 54
     Who Will Elect the President? The Electoral College System 55
     Electoral College Simulation 57

  E. Lesson IV - Discrimination and Voting Rights 59
     Limitations on the Right to Vote 61
     Voter Discrimination Activity 62
     The Voting Rights Act of 1965 63
     Voter Discrimination and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 Activity 64

F. Lesson V - Supreme Court Cases About Elections and the Right to Vote 65
Discussion/Essay Questions 67
Outline of Supreme Court Cases on Voting Qualifications and Elections 68
I. Poll Taxes and Property Qualifications 68
II. Literacy Qualifications 72
III. The White Primary Cases 76
IV. Other Discrimination Cases 78
V. Disqualification for Committing Crimes 80
VI. Residence Qualifications 82
Oregon case: Barilla v. Ervin 84
Reapportionment and the Gerrymander 91
VII. Apportionment and the Right to Vote 92
Critical Thinking Activity: Distinguishing Bias from Reason 96

PART II - PRACTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT REGISTRATION, VOTING, AND ELECTIONS 97
A. Getting Organized 99
Introduction, Application, Teaching Objectives 101
Sample Lesson Plan for Teaching Part II 104
Pre-Test #1 - Objectives 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 107
Post-Test #1 - Objectives 1 and 2 110
Post-Test #2 - Objectives 3(a) and 4 112
Post-Test #3 - Objectives 3(b) and 5(a) 114
Post-Test #4 - Objectives 3(c) and 5(b) 115
Post-Test #5 - Objectives 3(d) and 3(e) 118
Pre-Test #2 - Objective 6 120
Post-Test #6 - Objective 6 121
Pre-Test #3 - Objective 7 122
Post-Test #7 - Objective 7 123
Pre-Test #4 - Objectives 8 and 9 125
Post-Test #8 - Objectives 8 and 9 126
Answer Keys to Tests 128

B. Lesson I - Voter Registration 133
Introduction to Voter Registration 135
Summary of Voter Registration and the Voting Process in Oregon 136
Learning Guide About Voting and Registration 139
Election Laws Are Constantly Changing 143
Did You Know ...? 145
Suggested Activities for Extra Credit 147
Questions for Discussion/Essay 148
Answers to Learning Guide and Discussion/Essay Questions 149

C. Lesson II - Marking Your Ballot 151
Marking Your Ballot 153
Punch Card Ballot 153
Optical Scan Ballot 156
Demonstration Ballot 157

D. Lesson III - Resources: The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet . . . 159
Introduction 161
Ballot Measure 5 Activity 161
Illustrations: Secretary of State and Director, State Elections Division 165
Presidential Candidates Activity 167
Critical Thinking Activity: Ranking Concerns in Choosing A President 168

E. Lesson IV - Resources: Newspapers 169
Introduction 171
A. Advertising Appeals 173
B. News Stories 179
C. News Analyses 182
D. Features 183
E. Photos and Other Art 185
F. Editorial Cartoons 188
G. Editorials 189
H. Letters to the Editor 192
I. Columns 194
Critical Thinking Activity: Distinguishing Between Fact and Opinion 196

F. Lesson V - Resources: Television 197
Introduction 199
Political Advertisements 199
Nominating Conventions 199
News Reports 200
News Analysis Programs 200
Televised Political Debates 200
"How to Watch A Debate" 203
Critical Thinking Activity: Recognizing Deceptive Arguments 207

G. Lesson VI - Resources: Political Parties and Political Action Committees (PACs) 209
Introduction 211
Political Information Comparison Activity 211
PACs: Contributions and Expenditures Tables 217
"How to Judge A Candidate" 218A

H. Lesson VII - Resources: Campaign Signs and Memorabilia . 219
Lawn Signs, Brochures, Bumper Stickers, and Other Campaign Materials 221
1980 Ronald Reagan Campaign Brochure 222

I. Lesson VIII - The Role of Political Parties in Voting and Elections 223
Political Party Summary 225
Minor Political Parties 227
Choosing A Political Party 231
Questions for Discussion/Essay 234

J. Lesson IX - Initiative, Referendum, and Recall 235
Definitions 238
Steps to File an Initiative Petition in Oregon 239
Example of Time Line for Statewide Initiative Petition . . 241
Questions for Discussion/Essay - Initiative 242
Sample Initiative Forms 243
Initiative Process Activity Idea 247
Steps to File a Referendum Petition in Oregon 251
Example of Time Line for Statewide Referendum Petition . . 253
Questions for Discussion/Essay - Referendum 254
Sample Referendum Forms 255
Initiative and Referendum - Oregon Blue Book Activity . . 257
Steps to File a Recall Petition in Oregon 261
Questions for Discussion/Essay - Recall 262

K. Lesson X - Political Campaigns and Election Law 263
Introduction 265
A. Qualifications 265
B. Filing for Political Office 269
C. Voters' Pamphlet Regulations 272
D. Other Rules and Regulations 274
E. Contributions and Expenditures Reporting 274
Sample Forms: Contributions and Expenditures Reporting . 275
Questions for Discussion/Essay - Political Campaigns and Election Law 283

L. Lesson XI - Political Campaigns in Action 285
Components of a Winning Campaign 287
Class Political Campaign Simulation 289
Sample Forms: Campaign Simulation 290

PART III - ELECTIONS AND YOU: BECOMING A WORKING MEMBER OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNMENT 301
A. Getting Organized 303
Introduction and Teaching Objectives 305
Pre-Test 306
Post-Test 307
Answer Keys to Tests 309

B. Lesson I - Your Vote Counts: Why Should I Vote? 311
Reasons to Vote 313
The Power of One Vote 315
"One Vote Makes A Difference" 316
"Why I'm Voting" - Yakov Smirnoff 318

C. Lesson II - Voting Behaviors: Who Votes, Who Doesn't and Why 319
Who Votes? 321
Oregon Voter Participation Tables 322
Who Doesn't Vote? 324
Teaching Activity: The Impact of Low Voter Turnout on Political Decisions 325

Attitudes and Voter Participation 326
Voting and 18-21-Year-Olds: The Missing Generation . . . 327
Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1988. 328
Uniform Poll Closing and Voter Participation in Western States 332
Voter Registration and Voter Participation 334
Voter Participation and Special Interests 335

Bibliography 337
Suggested Publications 339
Organizations to Contact 340

GLOSSARY OF ELECTION TERMS

Types of Elections:

primary - a primary election is an election held by a political party to decide which of its candidates will represent the party in the general election.

general - general elections are held to elect federal, state, county, and municipal (city) officers who will serve a regular term. Proposed constitutional amendments are also voted on at this time.

special - special elections are held to fill a vacancy when someone has died or resigned, or to vote on referenda. Special district board members (e.g., school board, transit board, fire board) are elected in special elections.

Election Vocabulary:

absentee ballot - a ballot cast before an election by a person unable or who does not want to vote on election day at his or her local polling place.

alderman - a member of the city legislative body; a councilor.

all-white primary - black people were excluded from voting in the primary elections, but could vote in the general elections. Since one party generally dominated in the southern states, the primaries usually picked the winner.

amendment - a formal change, modification or addition to a document.

apportionment - a distribution of districts based on equal population.

at-large - one who represents all of the people within a geographical area as opposed to only a section of that area; i.e., candidates from anywhere in a political entity (county, state) may run for a designated political office.

ballot - a ticket, paper, or voting machine listing the names of the candidates running for office and the issues or laws to be decided; a method by which a vote is registered and then counted.

ballot measure - a proposed state, county, district, or city law or question to be decided by popular vote.

campaign - a series of organized, planned actions for the purpose of electing a candidate or passing or defeating a measure.

candidate - a person who seeks or is nominated for public office.

caucus - a meeting of members of the same political party to choose candidates or decide on policies.

checks and balances - a process in government whereby branches or departments of government share power with other branches or departments and thus "check" or limit the possibility of one branch gaining power over the other. Examples: the President appoints Supreme Court justices; Congress makes the laws, but the President must sign them.

chief executive - the President of the United States or a governor of a state.

commissioner - a member of the county legislative body.

compelling governmental interest - the government or lawmakers have an interest or need which requires them to create a law which may unintentionally interfere with certain aspects of citizens' rights. Example: the government creates a voting registration deadline in order to allow time to check the validity of voters' addresses. The law may limit the rights of some citizens to vote.

constituents - the citizens an official serves and those who elect an individual to represent them in office.

convention (national nominating) - the meeting held by each of the two major political parties every four years at which the party selects its platform and chooses its candidates for president and vice president. (State political parties and minor political parties also hold conventions.)

councilor (or councilman) - a member of the city legislative body; an alderman.

dark horse - a political candidate unexpectedly nominated, usually as a compromise between opposing groups within a party.

debate - a discussion by two or more persons; in politics, an organized discussion of the issues by candidates.

delegate - a member of a political party who is authorized to represent his or her party at the party's convention.

democracy - a system of government in which the people rule either directly or through elected representatives. (See also: pure democracy.)

Democrat - a member of the Democratic Party of the United States.

disenfranchise - to take away the right to vote.

district - the area a representative serves.

elector - a citizen who is registered to vote in the elections.

electoral college - a unique method of electing a president and vice president. Each state is allotted electoral votes equal in number to its congressional delegation. The party winning the most votes in a state usually receives all of that state's electoral votes.

electorate - those persons eligible to vote in an election.

endorsement - a statement from an individual, organization, newspaper, radio or television station in support of a candidate.

enfranchise - to bestow the right to vote.

enroll - to have one's name officially placed on a political party's membership list.

favorite son - one favored by the delegates of his state as a presidential candidate at a national political convention.

franchise - the right to vote.

gerrymander - to divide a state, county or city into voting districts to give unfair advantage to one group or party in elections.

GOP - "Grand Old Party;" refers to the Republican Party.

grandfather clause - clauses in state constitutions freeing citizens from taking literacy and other tests to vote if their descendants were entitled to vote in 1866. Exempted whites from difficult tests.

grassroots - society at the local level, especially in rural areas as distinguished from the centers of political leadership.

gubernatorial - of or relating to the governor.

ideology - a set of beliefs or a manner of thinking.

inauguration - a formal ceremony in which an official is installed by taking an oath to carry out the duties of that office.

incumbent - a person who currently holds the office for which he is a candidate.

independent - a person who is not affiliated with any political party.

initiative - a procedure where citizens can propose a law by petition and place it on the ballot for a popular vote.

issues - topics of debate or controversy during a campaign.

landslide - an election won by a large majority.

levy election - an election to determine whether (property) taxes should be collected to support government entities such as schools, city facilities, etc.

literacy tests - tests which required citizens to understand and explain the Constitution. Since black people were historically denied a formal education, they could not pass the tests. Also, test situations were rigged to make sure that even educated blacks could not pass the literacy tests.

lobbyist - one who represents a special interest group.

majority - more than half of the total number of votes cast in an election.

measure - a question put before the voters other than candidates (e.g., levy, constitutional amendment).

media - forms of communication, such as newspapers, radio, television, that are able to reach masses of people.

minor party - a political party that has a smaller membership than the major political parties.

minority - fewer than half of the total number of votes cast in an election.

municipal - city (municipal elections are city elections).

national committee - a committee of the leaders of a political party on the highest level.

natural rights - rights resulting from inherent nature-- rights that are natural to man. Examples: life, liberty, equality.

nominate - to propose as a candidate for election to office.

nonpartisan - an election in which candidates are not identified by a political party or preference.

office - a special duty, charge, or position conferred by governmental authority and for a public purpose; to hold office or be elected to a position.

partisan - an election in which candidates are identified as affiliated with a particular political party.

party platform - a formal declaration of the policy of a political party.

plank - an article in a political party's stand or platform.

plurality - the greatest number of votes cast, but less than a majority.

political party - an organization or group of people who endorse or try to elect candidates to public office.

poll tax - a tax payment required before a person could register to vote. (Poor black people could not afford to pay the tax and therefore were prevented from voting.)

polling place - a location where voters cast their votes.

polls - surveys taken to assess opinions; particularly, during an election, a survey to assess a candidate's popularity.

popular vote - the direct vote of the people.

precedent - a judicial decision that may be used as a standard in subsequent similar cases.

precinct - a subdivision of a county, town, city, district, or ward for election purposes.

presidential elector - a person elected by the people of a state to cast a vote for president and vice president; a member of the electoral college.

pure democracy - James Madison's concept of small governments where the people administer government in person.

reapportionment - a process of redrawing legislative districts on the basis of population.

recall - the procedure by which a public official may be removed from office by popular vote.

referendum - the submission of a proposed public measure or statute to a direct popular vote.

register - to have one's name officially placed on a list of eligible voters.

Republican - a member of the Republican Party of the United States.

republican government, republic - any political order that is not a monarchy (kingdom); a constitutional form of government, especially a democratic one.

returns - a report of the results of balloting; the official declaration of the election of a candidate.

right - a just legal, moral and/or traditional claim.

running mate - a candidate running for a subordinate place on a ticket, especially the candidate for vice president.

special interest groups - groups of people who share common interests. Examples: farmers, educators.

split ticket - to vote for some candidates from one political party and for some candidates from another political party.

statute - a law enacted by a state or federal legislative body.

straight ticket - voting for all of a party's candidates on the ballot.

straw vote - an unofficial vote taken to indicate the relative strength of opposing candidates or issues; also called a straw poll.

suffrage - the right to vote.

survey - to question someone in order to collect data for the analysis of a group or area; appraise; view comprehensively.

ticket - a list of candidates for nomination or election; slate.

town committee - a representative body of a political party in a town.

ward - a political subdivision of a city or town.

winner-takes-all - the system of electoral votes for president, whereby a candidate is given all electoral votes in the states where (s)he wins a majority or plurality of votes.

write-in - to insert a name not listed on a ballot or voting machine in an appropriate space, or to vote for a candidate whose name is not on the ballot; the candidate whose name is written in.

Sources for definitions:

Newsguide to Election 1984, The News and Observer and The Raleigh Times, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Teacher's Resource Manual on Voter Education, State of Connecticut, Department of Education, 1988.

The American Heritage Dictionary, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Massachusetts, 1976.

GUIDELINES FOR TEACHING CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

Explanation: Because the teaching of issues related to elections and presenting a fair balance of views regarding candidates is of concern to all teachers, we are including here some suggested guidelines. Since the State Department of Education has no rulings on this topic, we have chosen to print the regulations of the Portland Public Schools found in Sections 610.3 and 610.4 of their Rules and Regulations. You should, of course, check the rules provided by your own district.

TEACHING ABOUT CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES

1. Premises

   A. Teachers are free to teach about controversial issues which fall within the areas they are employed to teach.

   B. Discussion of controversial issues will help students learn to analyze problems, gather and sort facts, use discrimination in assessing facts and opinions, and draw conclusions.

2. Guidelines

   The following questions will be helpful to the teacher when teaching about controversial issues:

   A. Is the issue pertinent to the objectives of the course?

   B. Will the issue interest and stimulate the students?

   C. Do the students have the intellectual and emotional maturity to deal with the issue?

   D. Have procedures for exploring the issue been established?

   E. Are adequate materials available for exploration and examination of the issue?

   F. Will the speakers or materials contribute to the objectives of the course?

   G. Has a free exchange of ideas and conflicting views been provided for?

   H. If I, the teacher, have stated my own opinions and beliefs, have I clearly identified them as my own?

   I. Do I, the teacher, have an adequate background to deal with this issue and/or is this issue relevant to my professional role?

Administrative Regulation
Issued 6/71
Reprinted from Oregon Student/Parent
Mock Election, Teacher's Guide, p. 6

USE OF RESOURCE SPEAKERS

1. Premises

   A. There are many resource people in the community who can contribute to the enrichment of classroom presentations.

   B. Teachers are encouraged to use, at their discretion, in their classrooms, resource people from the community at large.

2. Guidelines

   The following questions will be helpful for the teacher when planning for resource speakers:

   A. Is the speaker knowledgeable about his/her subject?

   B. Is the speaker able to present his/her material at a level that can be understood by my students?

   C. Has the speaker been informed of the role he/she is expected to play in the classroom setting?

   D. Will the speaker interest and stimulate the students?

   E. Have the students been prepared for the kind of position and issue(s) that the speaker will present?

   F. How will other points of view be provided for?

   G. Should time be allowed for students to question the speaker?

   H. Do I have perspective on the issue to be presented by the resource speaker?

   I. Is what the speaker has to contribute pertinent to the achievement of the objectives of the course?

The above premises and guidelines will also be useful when considering resource speakers for school assemblies during school hours or for club meetings and other school-sponsored meetings held in the school after regular school hours.

3. Procedures for Inviting Resource Speakers

   If a teacher intends to invite a speaker who is generally recognized to be controversial, notice shall be given to the principal prior to extending the invitation. In other cases, a teacher who invites any resource speaker to appear before his/her class shall give notice of the invitations to the principal prior to the date of the scheduled appearance in order that the principal may exercise judgment concerning the effect of the speaker on all aspects of the school program which came within his/her responsibility.

Administrative Regulation
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PART I - HISTORICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES

A. Getting Organized: Lesson Plans, Objectives, Tests

B. Lesson I - Political Theory, The Constitution, and the Right to Vote

C. Lesson II - Decision-Making and Representation

D. Lesson III - The Electoral College

E. Lesson IV - Discrimination and Voting Rights

F. Lesson V - Supreme Court Cases About Elections and the Right to Vote

A. GETTING ORGANIZED

Introduction, Application, Teaching Objectives

Sample Lesson Plan for Teaching Part I

Pre-Test - Objectives 1 and 2

Post-Test - Objectives 1 and 2

Pre-Test - Objectives 3, 4, and 5

Post-Test - Objectives 3, 4, and 5

Answer Keys to Tests

PART I - HISTORICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES

Introduction: This section introduces the concepts involved in the "right to vote:" how that right evolved historically and philosophically, how the Constitution reflects historical events and philosophical beliefs, and how the Constitution has been shaped by Supreme Court decisions. The information herein is intended to lay the historical, theoretical, and conceptual foundations about voting rights and elections for the student.

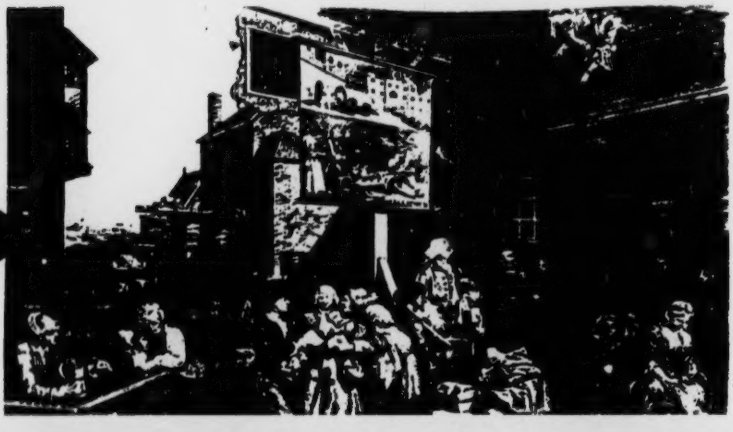
Application: This section can be incorporated into the following courses of study:

- American Problems
- American Government
- State and Local Government
- U.S. History
- Political Science
- Debate
- Law

Teaching Objectives:

The learner will demonstrate ability to:

1. understand the role of voting and representation in our United States government, as it relates to the Constitution and the political philosophies which led to the Constitution, by:
    a. explaining what the Constitution says about elections and the right to vote.
    b. explaining what our Founding Fathers believed about voting and elections.
    c. defining "pure democracy" and "republican government" and determining how those definitions apply to government in the United States.
2. discriminate between ways that the will of the people is represented in our government by:
    a. examining various methods of making political choices and identifying advantages and disadvantages of each method.
    b. defining the structure and purpose of the Electoral College.



An election: Hogarth style, 1757.

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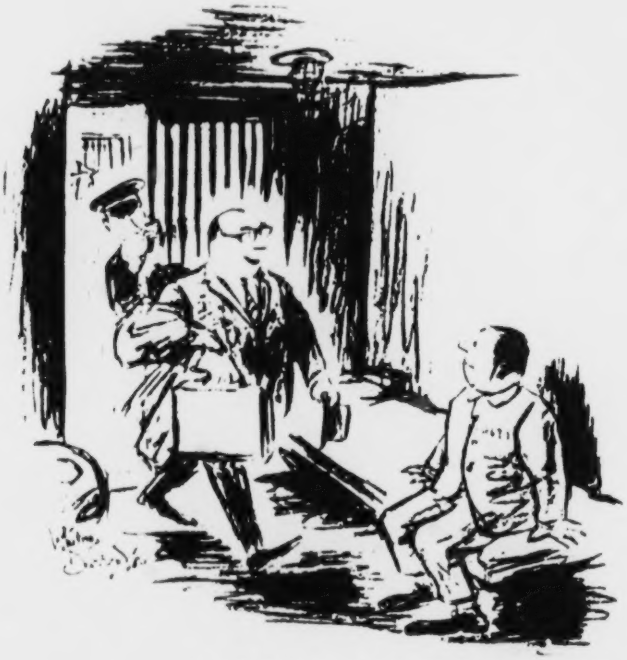
PART I - HISTORICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES

Teaching Objectives:

The learner will demonstrate ability to:

3. understand that the right to vote has been limited in our society by explaining how four tools were used to limit voter registration.
4. recall the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 by listing them.
5. analyze Supreme Court cases about elections which have shaped constitutional amendments and promoted passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 by comparing and contrasting the fact situations, decisions, and rules established in each Supreme Court case.



Drawing by Whitney Darrow, Jr., 1965, *The New Yorker Magazine*, Inc.

"Well, we lost the appeal, but you'll be delighted to learn there was a brilliant dissenting opinion in your favor."

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SAMPLE LESSON PLAN FOR TEACHING PART I

Objective 1:

The learner will understand the role of voting and representation in our United States government, as it relates to the Constitution and the political philosophies which led to the Constitution.

Day 1 - Administer Pre-Test.
- Using handouts and/or transparencies, present the background information provided about the Constitution and elections.
- Have students complete the worksheet: Political Theory and the Right to Vote. (in partners or small groups)
- Homework: Each student will write a resolution for Day 2's Decision-Making Activity.

Objective 2:

The learner will discriminate between ways that the will of the people is represented in our government.

Day 2 and 3 - Decision-Making Activity and Follow-Up to Decision-Making Activity.

Day 4 - Electoral College information presentation.
Electoral College simulation.

Day 5 - Review and evaluation.
(Suggested tools for evaluation: a combination of pre-test questions, discussion/essay questions, and final multiple choice examination.)

Objective 3:

The learner will understand that the right to vote has been limited by our society.

Day 6 - Administer Pre-Test.
Voter Discrimination Activity.

Objective 4:

The learner will recall the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Day 7 - Voter Discrimination and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 Activity.

Objective 5:

The learner will analyze Supreme Court cases about elections which have shaped constitutional amendments and promoted passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Day 8-9 - Present Supreme Court cases. (You may wish to limit your study to one or two areas of your choice.)
Have students write answers to discussion questions.
Follow with class discussion.

Day 10 - Review and evaluation.
(Suggested tools for evaluation: a combination of pre-test questions, discussion/essay questions, and final multiple choice examination.)

PART I: Historical and Legal Issues

PRE-TEST - Objectives 1 and 2

1. a. What does the Constitution say about elections and the right to vote?

The power to establish qualifications for voting in national and state elections is granted in the Constitution to the ______________________ government(s).

(circle one) national (U.S.) state

b. What did our Founding Fathers believe about voting and elections?

c. What is the difference between pure democracy (as described by James Madison) and a republican government, according to our Founding Fathers? Which of these types of governments do we have in the United States?

2. a. What are two methods of choosing between issues or candidates in our system of government? Give one advantage and one disadvantage of each.

b. What is the Electoral College? What is its purpose?

PART I - Historical and Legal Issues

POST-TEST - Objectives 1 and 2

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

I. DID YOU KNOW ... ?

____ 1. In the mid-18th century, voters had to meet the following qualifications:

(a) property ownership
(b) Christian religion
(c) free, white males
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c only

____ 2. In the Constitution, for purposes of representation, slaves were ________.

(a) not considered persons
(b) considered persons, but not granted the right to vote
(c) considered 3/5 of a person
(d) not mentioned in the Constitution

____ 3. Which of the following led to public support for women's right to vote?

(a) working women
(b) lobbying and picketing campaigns
(c) non-violent demonstrations
(d) action by states, such as Utah and Colorado
(e) all of the above

____ 4. "If we're old enough to fight, we're old enough to vote!" led to the 18-year-old vote victory. Which war served as a springboard for the 26th Amendment?

(a) Vietnam War
(b) Korean War
(c) World War II
(d) World War I

II. POLITICAL THEORY AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE

____ 5. Locke believed that men entered society after living in a state of nature. He called those rights derived from the state of nature: ______________.

(a) social contract
(b) natural rights
(c) bill of rights
(d) general will

____ 6. Rousseau believed that people express their __________ in government.

(a) social contract
(b) natural rights
(c) bill of rights
(d) general will

____ 7. Jefferson believed that government is derived from the ____________.

(a) state of nature
(b) Constitution
(c) consent of the governed
(d) general will

____ 8. Madison, Hamilton, and Jay wrote _________________.

(a) the Constitution
(b) the Declaration of Independence
(c) the Federalist Papers
(d) none of the above

____ 9. What did Madison fear about pure democracies?

(a) political factions and interest groups
(b) frequent elections
(c) unenlightened leaders
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c only

III. WHAT THE CONSTITUTION SAYS ABOUT VOTING AND ELECTIONS

____ 10. Who sets election procedures?

(a) Congress
(b) Electoral College
(c) state legislatures
(d) senators

____ 11. How many electors in the Electoral College are assigned to each State?

(a) the same number as the number of senators and representatives in Congress from that State.
(b) the same number as the number of representatives in Congress from that State.
(c) the same number as the number of representatives in the state legislature from that state.
(d) Congress assigns the same number of electors for each state.

____ 12. The right to vote is explicitly stated in the Constitution in the Fifteenth Amendment.

(a) True
(b) False

____ 13. The right to vote is a ____________ power.

(a) national
(b) state

____ 14. The Fourteenth Amendment extended basic rights to black people. The ____________ clause is most frequently used to support voting rights.

(a) due process
(b) equal protection
(c) privileges and immunities
(d) voting rights

____ 15. Before the 17th Amendment in 1913, Senators were elected by __________.

(a) popular vote
(b) Electoral College
(c) state legislatures
(d) Congress

____ 16. The residents of Washington, D.C. ________ vote for the President and they ________ vote for representatives to the U.S. Congress.

(a) may/may
(b) may/may not
(c) may not/may
(d) may not/may not

____ 17. In a typical presidential election, the candidate who wins a ________ of the state's popular vote, wins __________ of the state's electoral votes.

(a) plurality/all
(b) plurality/majority
(c) majority/plurality
(d) majority/majority

____ 18. One advantage of the Electoral College is that it ____________.

(a) provides a clear-cut winner
(b) is democratic
(c) reduces campaign costs and election recounts
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c only

____ 19. When you vote for the President, you are actually voting for ________.

(a) the Presidential candidate
(b) the Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates
(c) a ballot of electors--the majority from the candidate's political party
(d) a ballot of electors--all from the candidate's political party

____ 20. How does a pure democracy differ from a republic?

(a) In a pure democracy, there is no Constitution.
(b) In a pure democracy, there is no representative system.
(c) In a pure democracy, there are no interest groups.
(d) all of the above

PART I - Historical and Legal Issues

PRE-TEST - Objectives 3, 4, and 5

1. Explain how each of the following were used to deny black people the right to vote:

   (a) poll tax -

   (b) all-white primary -

   (c) literacy tests -

   (d) grandfather clause -

2. What is the Voting Rights Act of 1965? How did it eliminate tools to discriminate against citizens in their right to vote?

3. Compare and contrast two Supreme Court cases about elections in one of the following areas: poll taxes and property qualifications, literacy qualifications, white primaries, residence qualifications, or apportionment. Include the fact situations, decisions, and rules established in each case.

PART I - Historical and Legal Issues

POST-TEST - Objectives 3, 4, and 5

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. Black people were denied the right to vote because they couldn't afford to pay this tax required for voter registration and voting.

(a) poll tax
(b) income tax
(c) sales tax
(d) property tax

____ 2. Black people were denied the right to effectively pick a winner when they were denied the right to vote in the all-white primary elections, because ____________.

(a) the primaries took place before the general election
(b) the primaries were dominated by one party in the southern states
(c) the primaries were controlled by the state governors
(d) the primaries did not allow use of absentee ballots

____ 3. Many literacy tests were used to deny black people the right to vote. These tests required black people to _______________.

(a) read and write in English
(b) have a formal education
(c) pass a written civics examination
(d) understand the explain the Constitution

____ 4. How did the grandfather clauses in state constitutions exempt white people from discriminatory and difficult voting tests?

(a) They said that if your grandfather was white, then you could vote.
(b) They said that if your grandfather was a citizen in 1866, then you could vote.
(c) They said that if your grandfather could vote in 1866, then you could vote.
(d) They said that if your grandfather was a property owner in 1866, then you could vote.

____ 5. Under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, who determined whether voter discrimination was taking place?

(a) the President and Vice President
(b) the Vice President and Secretary of State
(c) the Civil Service Commission and the Director of the Census
(d) the Attorney General and the Director of the Census

____ 6. Under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, federal examiners were appointed to supervise voting and elections in states practicing discrimination in violation of the ______Amendment.

(a) 1st
(b) 15th
(c) 19th
(d) 26th

____ 7. Under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, penalties of $5,000 fine and/or 5 years imprisonment would be assessed for ____________.

(a) refusing to permit any person to vote who is qualified to vote
(b) willfully failing or refusing to tabulate, count or report a vote
(c) attempting to intimidate, threaten, or coerce a qualified voter
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c only

____ 8. Before the 24th Amendment forbidding the use of a poll tax in federal elections, the Supreme Court held the poll tax ________ violate the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

(a) did
(b) did not

____ 9. After passage of the 24th Amendment, the Supreme Court held that use of a poll tax in state elections ________ violate the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

(a) did
(b) did not

____ 10. Can property ownership be a requirement of the right to vote in certain types of elections?

(a) Yes
(b) No

____ 11. Before the Voting Rights Act of 1965, were literacy tests banned by the Supreme Court?

(a) Yes, in all federal and state elections.
(b) Yes, in all federal elections.
(c) Yes, in all state elections.
(d) Yes, but only for those state tests shown to discriminate.

____ 12. According to the Supreme Court, can a state require residence for voter registration?

(a) No, a state may not require residence in order to register to vote.
(b) Yes, a state may require residence up to 50 days if it shows a "compelling governmental interest."
(c) Yes, a state may require residence of up to one year if it shows a "compelling governmental interest."
(d) Yes, a state may require residence of up to three years if it shows a "compelling governmental interest."

____ 13. According to the Supreme Court, can a state deny convicted felons the right to vote?

(a) Yes
(b) No

____ 14. On what basis did the Supreme Court allow the Texas Democratic Party to deny black people membership in the party and thus deny their voting rights in the Democratic primary elections?

(a) The Democratic Party showed a "compelling governmental interest" in denying membership to black people.
(b) The Democratic Party promised to grant full rights to black people to vote in the general elections.
(c) The Democratic Party was a private organization and its actions were not governed by the 14th Amendment.
(d) The Court found the issue was political, not judicial, and declared that it had no jurisdiction to try the cases.

____ 15. Apportionment of state legislative districts must reflect ____________.

(a) political party membership rosters
(b) numbers of registered voters
(c) total population
(d) property ownership

____ 16. Must districts be drawn with "mathematical precision?"

(a) Yes
(b) No

____ 17. What principle did the Court use to uphold apportionment changes?

(a) life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness
(b) equality of opportunity
(c) one person, one vote
(d) universal suffrage
(e) due process of law

____ 18. Do the Supreme Court rules on apportionment also apply to city and county governments?

(a) Yes
(b) No

____ 19. Did the Supreme Court consistently follow its own precedents (prior cases) in deciding cases on elections?

(a) Yes
(b) No

____ 20. The decisions on elections by the Supreme Court are an example of ____________ power.

(a) state
(b) democratic
(c) judicial
(d) administrative

ANSWER KEYS TO PART I PRE-TESTS AND POST-TESTS

PRE-TEST - Objectives 1 and 2

1.a. See pp. 36-39 - "What the Constitution Says About Voting and Elections" Power to establish voting qualifications is granted to state governments.

b. See pp. 32-33 - "Political Theory and the Right to Vote"

c. See p. 33 for Madison's description of "pure democracy" as opposed to "republican" government.
In the United States, we have a representative democracy, or republican, form of government.

2.a. Student responses will vary. Some methods could include: everyone votes, everyone votes for representatives and the representatives vote on issues, an appointed leader (king, dictator) chooses, an elected leader chooses. Issues which may appear as advantages or disadvantages could include: freedom of choice, decisions matching the views of the majority, a feeling of legitimacy and willingness to obey the law by the people, whether the method is complex or time-consuming, whether the pros and cons of issues are debated by the public, whether the public is informed about decisions and reasons for decisions.

b. See pp. 51-56 for information about the Electoral College.

POST-TEST - Objectives 1 and 2

1.	D	6.	D	11.	A	16.	B
2.	C	7.	C	12.	A	17.	A
3.	E	8.	C	13.	B	18.	E
4.	A	9.	E	14.	B	19.	D
5.	B	10.	C	15.	C	20.	B

PRE-TEST - Objectives 3, 4, and 5

1.a-d. See p. 61, "Limitations on the Right to Vote," for definitions.
2. See p. 63 "The Voting Rights Act of 1965"
3. See pp. 68-95 for Supreme Court cases in each of these subject areas.
NOTE: You may want to limit your instruction about the Supreme Court cases to one or two election topics.

POST-TEST - Objectives 3, 4, and 5

1.	A	6.	B	11.	D	16.	B
2.	B	7.	D	12.	B	17.	C
3.	D	8.	B	13.	A	18.	A
4.	C	9.	A	14.	C	19.	B
5.	D	10.	A	15.	C	20.	C

B. LESSON I - POLITICAL THEORY, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Did You Know ... ?

Women and the Vote:
Illustrations
A Fact Sheet
The Issues

Political Theory and
The Right to Vote

Political Cartoon
Analysis

"Lobbyists Play Changing
Role"

What the Constitution Says
About Voting and Elections

Worksheet: Political
Theory and Constitution

Objective #1: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand the role of voting and representation in our United States government, as it relates to the Constitution and the political philosophies which led to the Constitution, by:

a. explaining what the Constitution says about elections and the right to vote.

b. explaining what our Founding Fathers believed about voting and elections.

c. defining "pure democracy" and "republican government" and determining how those definitions apply to government in the United States.

DID YOU KNOW ...?

1. In the mid-18th century, voters had to be Christians, own property, be white, free males. Approximately 50-75% of the male population in the colonies qualified to vote.

2. The Constitution left voting qualifications to the states, expecting states to extend the right to vote to their citizens. Little more than 50 years after ratification of the Constitution, religion and property qualifications had disappeared from all state constitutions.

3. Black people, however, were not granted the right to vote. The Constitution established slaves as 3/5 of a person for representation purposes. (Article I, Section 2.3)

4. In 1865, only 5 New England states allowed black people to vote. Approximately 93% of northern black people lived in states where they could not vote.

5. The first Reconstruction Act of March 1867 provided for universal manhood suffrage. New black voters made up a majority of the Radical electorate in five states: Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. By 1870, more than 700,000 blacks and 627,000 whites were registered as voters under the Radical state constitutions.

6. The Compromise of 1877, electing Rutherford B. Hayes as president, resulted in the collapse of Radical rule in the southern states. In every subsequent election, fewer black people voted.

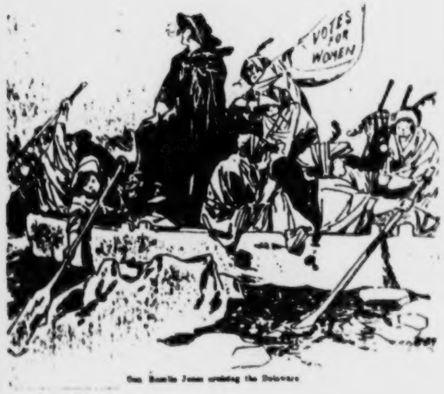
7. Over 8 million working women in 1910, holding 36% of all professional jobs, and the involvement of women in war work during World War I led to public support of women's suffrage and the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1919 (by a slim margin). The Amendment was ratified in 1920. Women's rights advocates, led by Carrie Chapman Catt and Anna Howard Shaw, conducted massive lobbying and picketing campaigns and public non-violent demonstrations.

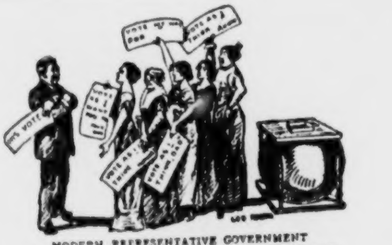
8. Even before the Civil War, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony organized "suffragettes" to fight for women's rights, including the right to vote. Women strongly supported the 15th Amendment, but were not included in it at the last minute. This exclusion gave further impetus to the momentum for women's voting rights. By the end of the 19th century, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming had extended full voting rights to women. By 1914, eight states and one territory followed: Washington (1910), California (1911), Arizona (1912), Kansas (1912), Oregon (1912), Illinois (1913), Alaska (1913), Nevada (1914), and Montana (1914).

9. The Vietnam War served as a springboard for the 18-year-old vote. Students were involved in political movements and demonstrations. "If we're old enough to fight, we're old enough to vote," was the rallying cry of young people across the nation. In March 1971, Congress passed the 26th Amendment to the Constitution extending voting rights to 18, 19, and 20-year-old citizens. In three short months, the Amendment was ratified by a majority of the states.

Geraldine Ferraro, shown here with Walter Mondale at the 1984 Democratic Convention, made history when she accepted her party's nomination as the first woman candidate for vice-president of the United States.

--From Corbin, Issues in American History: The Right to Vote, p. 86.





MODERN REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

Question: If a man represents the women of his household how can he represent himself?

IT is a common notion that men represent women at the polls.

DID you ever know a man who asked his wife how she wanted him to vote?

IF a man votes as his wife wishes him to do, he doesn't represent himself.

OR, if a man votes to please himself, he doesn't represent his wife.

THE predicament of a man who attempts to represent a family consisting of a wife, mother and daughters who hold different opinions, is conclusive that it cannot be done.

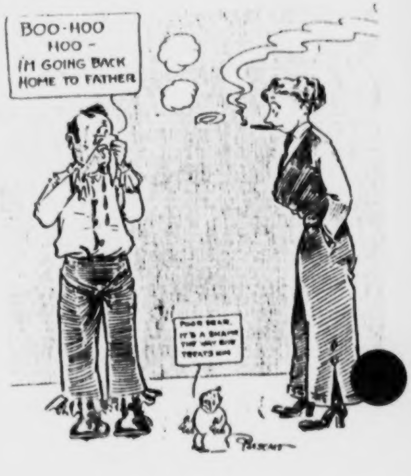
IF there are sons, the idea of a family vote isn't applied; they vote for themselves.

CAN you see any sense in the argument that men represent women at the polls? Of course not; there isn't any sense to see.

VOTE FOR THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT IN 1915.

EMPIRE STATE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

303 FIFTH AVENUE ◆ **NEW YORK**



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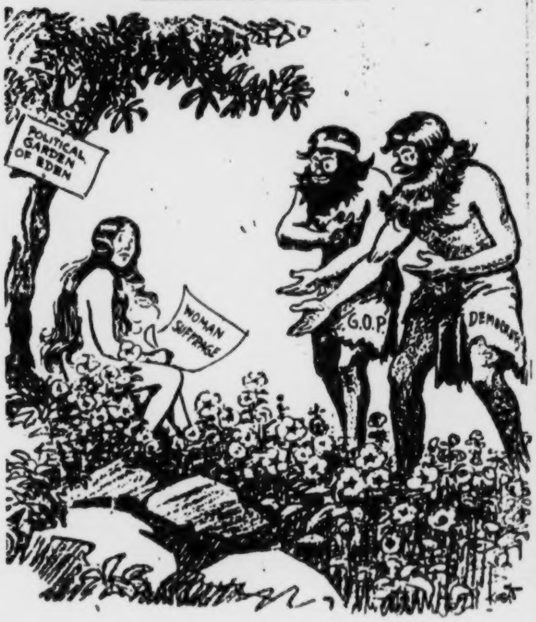
Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, *c.* 1870. *Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.*

THE TWO ADAMS: "IT WAS MY RIB, EVE"


POLITICAL GARDEN OF EDEN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
G.O.P
DEMOCRATS

Elizabeth Cady Stanton with her second daughter, Harriot, age three and a half months, 1858. *Courtesy of Rhoda Barney Jenkins.*

Carrie Chapman Catt at victory celebration following ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, August 1920

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Women and the Vote—1988

A Fact Sheet

Women's Impact at the Polls

There are 91.5 million American women who are eligible to vote.

This compares with 82.4 million eligible men. Women are 53% of the electorate. Women outnumber men in all voting age groups except for 18 to 24, where the numbers are equal. Over age 65, women constitute 60% of eligible voters.

Women constitute 53% of all registered voters.

59.5 million women (65%) and 52.2 million men (63%) were registered to vote in 1986.

In the 1986 elections, 4.5 million more women than men went to the polls.

	% of Eligible Adults Who Voted		Number of Eligible Adults Who Voted	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
White	47.1	46.9	36.9 million	33.6 million
Black	44.4	41.8	4.7 million	3.5 million
Hispanic	25.1	23.3	1.5 million	1.3 million

Nine U.S. senators and three governors owed their victories to the women's vote in 1986.

STATE	WINNER	Margin of victory	Difference in Women's Support
Ala.	Sen. Shelby	2%	+4%
Calif.	Sen. Cranston	2%	+6%
Colo.	Sen. Wirth	2%	+5%
Ga.	Sen. Fowler	2%	+5%
La.	Sen. Breaux	6%	+7%
Nev.	Sen. Reid	5%	+9%
N.C.	Sen. Sanford	4%	+5%
N. Dak.	Sen. Conrad	1%	+9%
Wash.	Sen. Adams	2%	+5%
Pa.	Gov. Casey	3%	+4%
S.Dak.	Gov. Mickelson	4%	+6%
Vt.	Gov. Kunin	9%	+9%

A gender gap between women and men continues to exist.

Differences between women's and men's attitudes on social and economic issues have led to a gender gap in voting behavior.

	Women	Men
• Favor more strict handgun control	66%	53%
• Oppose military aid to Nicaragua	61%	49%
• Favor raising taxes to improve health care for the elderly	55%	39%
• Think economy is in good shape	47%	60%
• Approve U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf	50%	67%
• Favor cutting back nuclear power plant operation until more strictly regulated	76%	55%
• Approve of Reagan's overall performance	40%	51%

Voting differences in the 1980 and 1984 Presidential Elections:

1980	Women	Men
Reagan	47%	56%
Carter	48%	36%
Anderson	8%	8%
1984		
Reagan	55%	64%
Mondale	45%	36%

The wage gap between men's earnings and women's earnings contributes to the gender gap.

- In 1987, 77% of women worked in clerical, sales, service and factory jobs, earning 65 cents for every $1.00 earned by men.
- Women who maintain families alone had median incomes of $13,647 in 1986 compared to $24,962 for men who maintain families without a spouse present.

Cites: Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), National Information Bank on Women in Public Office (NIB), Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University.

U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. *Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1986.* Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 414.

Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Ms., April, 1988.

National Journal, 12/19/87.

Congressional Quarterly Research Service

National Commission on Working Women of Wider Opportunities for Women, 1325 G St., NW, (LL), Washington, DC 20005 (202) 737-5764

Women and the Vote—1988

The Issues

Equal Opportunity

Women still occupy only 11% of "non-traditional" jobs in higher paying male dominated occupations. Candidates should discuss and support:

- Enforcement of Executive Order 11246, which mandates affirmative action plans in companies with over 50 employees.
- Adequate funding for federal monitoring and enforcement of federal affirmative action statutes.

Family Well-being

Women in single-parent families as well as two-parent families need help to remain economically independent. Candidates should support and discuss:

- Increased funding for child care so that child care workers are paid fairly and parents can depend on quality child care while they work.
- The involvement of employers in worker dependent-care assistance programs.
- Job protection and unpaid leave for parenting and family caretaking responsibilities.
- A family health care bridge for displaced homemakers and mothers on welfare during uncovered periods.

Economic Security

Women in 1988 earn on average 65 cents for every $1.00 earned by men.

Candidates should:

- Support enforcement of the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.
- Support an increase in the minimum wage, which has not been adjusted since 1981.
- Support health care coverage for all families.
- Support increased pension coverage for women.
- Support the concept of job evaluation based on the skill, effort and responsibility required to do the job in order to end sex- and race-based wage discrimination.

Education and Training

Sex segregation in educational institutions continues to channel women and girls into a narrow range of low-wage traditional occupations.

Candidates should:

- Support adequate funding for comprehensive employment and training, vocational education and basic literacy programs targeted for women.
- Support education and employment policies that provide adequate support services, such as child care, for women in training and educational programs.

Personal troubles...Public issues

Using your vote is a public expression of your personal concerns about your family's future and the future of the United States.

Give each candidate a fair hearing and then ask yourself:

- Does the candidate offer realistic solutions to the problems you and your family have?
- Does the candidate discuss the problems in the United States that most concern you?
- Does the candidate discuss economic and international issues in a way that is consistent with your concerns and values?
- Does the candidate's plan for the future of the United States seem clear and sensible to you?

National Commission on Working Women of Wider Opportunities for Women, 1325 G St., NW, (LL), Washington, DC 20005 (202) 737-5764

POLITICAL THEORY AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Locke (1634-1702) - Man, living in a State of Nature, decides to enter into a social contract and create government. Men have certain natural rights. People express their will, implying a right to vote.

Rousseau (1712-1778) - Government is created by the consent of the governed. People have natural rights. People create government through a social contract. The general will of the people is expressed in the government.

Jefferson (1743-1826) - Political equality is a natural right. Education is necessary for leadership and democracy. Government is derived from the consent of the governed. Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Declaration of Independence

(Most of Paragraph Two)

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness--That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security.

Madison (1751-1836) - Wrote the Federalist Papers with Hamilton and Jay. Also drafted the Virginia Plan at the Constitutional Convention.

FEDERALIST #52: "The definition of the right of suffrage is very justly regarded as a fundamental article of republican government. ... As it is essential to liberty that the government in general should have a common interest with the people, so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration should have an immediate dependence on and an intimate sympathy with the people. Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependence and sympathy can be effectually secured."

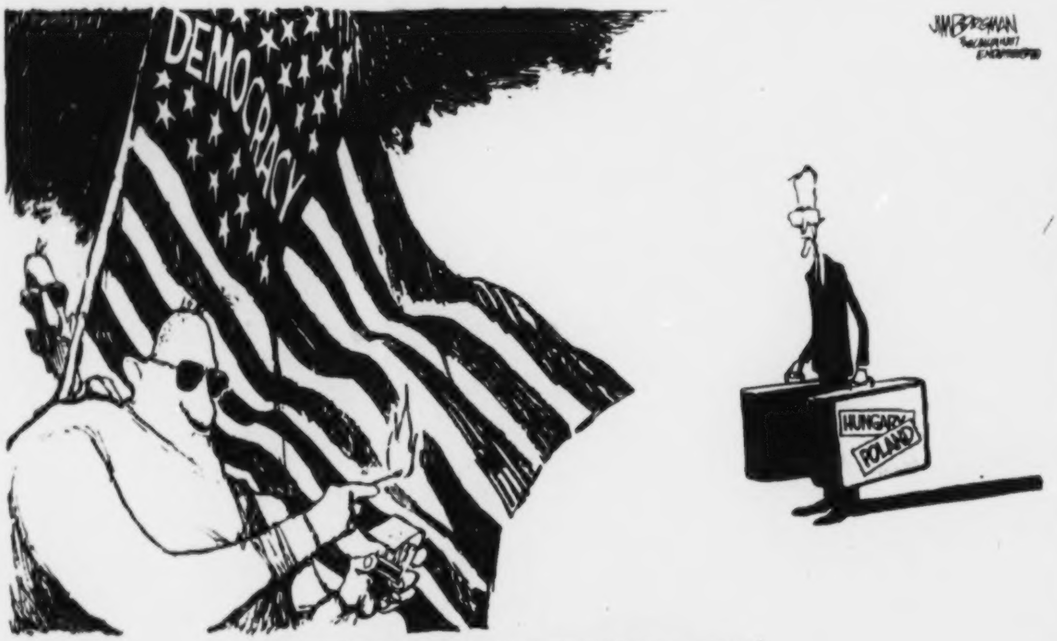
However, government must guard against momentary passions of the people. A system of checks and balances was instituted to insulate government from whim and mob rule:

FEDERALIST #63: "... there are particular moments in public affairs when the people, stimulated by some irregular passion or some illicit advantage, or misled by the artful representations of interested men, may call for measures which they themselves will afterwards be the most ready to lament and condemn."

Madison viewed a "pure democracy" as one in which small numbers of citizens assemble and administer the government IN PERSON. He viewed a "republic" as a system where representatives of the people reflect and moderate the views of a variety of interest groups.

Madison's republican form of government apportioned representatives in Congress on the basis of numbers of electors, while senators, elected by the state legislatures, served as a check on the law-making process. The people had a voice at three levels of government: local, state, and national.

Thus, through a combination of representation, checks and balances between and within branches of government, and federalism (levels of government), Madison was satisfied that the best elements of pure democracy would be balanced against its excesses: mob rule, factions and interest groups, and self-serving leaders.



"IF YOU DON'T WANT THAT, I KNOW SOMEONE WHO DOES."

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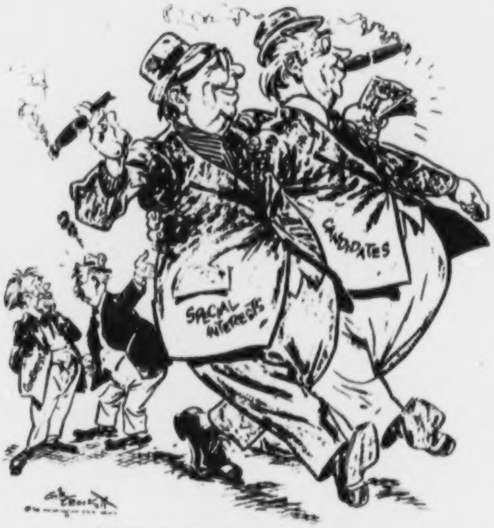
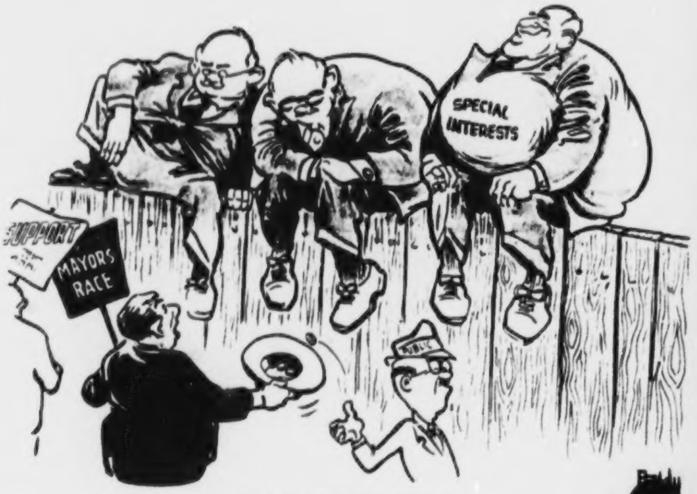
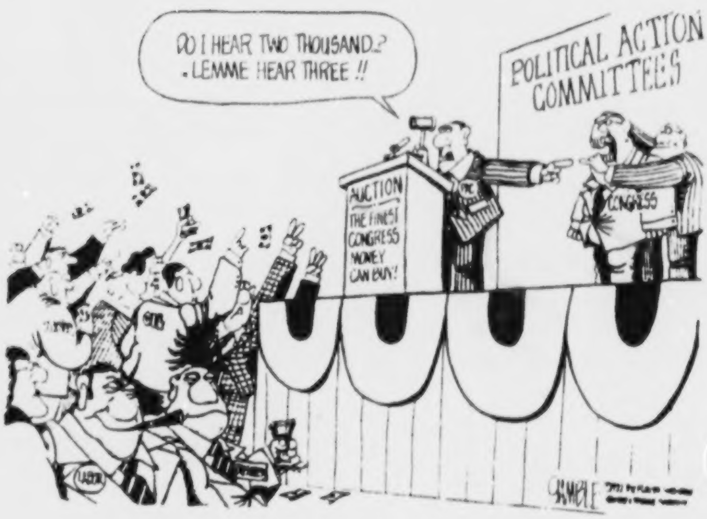
How do these modern-day cartoonists view Madison's fear of the excesses of democracy: mob rule, factions and interest groups, and self-serving leaders?

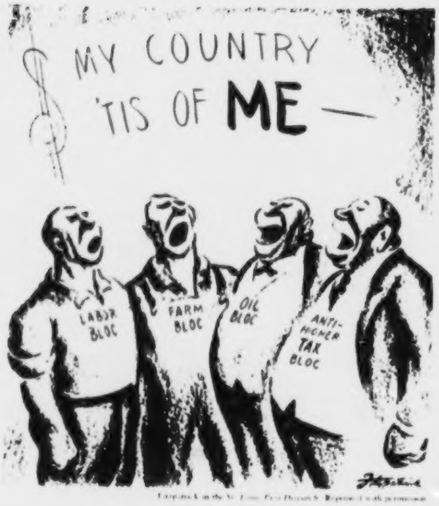

SPECIAL INTERESTS
CANDIDATES

'ISN'T IT TIME YOU BROKE THAT UP?'


SPECIAL INTERESTS
SUPPORT
MAYORS RACE
Baldy

"Y'ALL ABOUT READY—?"


DO I HEAR TWO THOUSAND.?
-LEMME HEAR THREE !!
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES
AUCTION
THE FINEST CONGRESS MONEY CAN BUY!
CONGRESS
LABOR
GAMBLE


MY COUNTRY 'TIS OF ME —
LABOR BLOC
FARM BLOC
OIL BLOC
ANTI-HIGHER TAX BLOC

New national anthem

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The ideals of democratic government still play an important role in the minds of Americans today. Columnist Marvin Callaway in the July 28 Statesman-Journal analyzes the role of "lobbyists"--representatives from special interest groups--in the 1989 session of the Oregon state legislature. He concludes that perhaps the increase in lobbyists representing a wide variety of interests is, in fact, making our system of government more democratic. See if you agree.

A step toward pure democracy

Lobbyists play changing role

Commentary

Marvin Callaway

Now that the Legislature has gone home, there is time to ponder the rapid growth in Oregon lobbyists and the role they played in passing bills.

The session that just ended saw the largest number of bills introduced and the largest number of laws passed by any Oregon legislature to date. It also saw the largest-ever number of registered lobbyists working the corridors of power.

How did these factors fit together? And what trends or changes can be seen?

The power of lobbyists to influence legislation became even more apparent in the latest session. But generally speaking, despite the larger numbers, the 1989 Legislature continued to fit into the pattern set by other legislatures during the past decade.

Looking back at sessions 1979 through 1989, the total number of bills introduced and the number of bills passed has remained relatively stable, but the number of registered lobbyists has grown rapidly.

It was this increased number of lobbyists that was the single most important factor in contributing to an increase in the number of new laws passed this session.

It figures. Most bills are introduced at the request of some interest group and often are drafted by them.

Curiously, the growth in the numbers of lobbyists has been less strongly related to the growth in the number of bills introduced but not passed.

This suggests a large number of bills proposed from inside the halls of government — housekeeping bills and the like.

It also suggests that the bills introduced and supported by lobbyists have been much more successful than the average.

The depth of involvement by lobbyists in the 1989 Legislature is obvious from the number of bills passed — more than 1,100 — of which the general public could probably name only a handful or two. Most of the legislation was enacted for and aimed at limited interests.

Generally, however, the trend during the past decade has been for the number of bills enacted to decrease, even when you include this latest session.

Another curious trend during the past decade has been a slight tendency for the length of sessions to get shorter.

Furthermore, the length of the legislative sessions during the decade has been only modestly related to the amount of work that was completed.

That assumes, of course, that the amount of real work done by lawmakers can be measured by the numbers of bills passed. But numbers don't take into account the effects of political infighting or the differences in severity of different issues.

What it does suggest, however, is that the same number of bills, or maybe even more bills, could be dealt with in less time.

It gives some backing to those who argue for putting legal limits on the length of sessions.

As for the lobbyists, there is no sign that their growth is going to slow.

However, this growth in lobbyists also has meant a change in who they are.

A few decades ago, the term *lobbyist* meant someone representing narrow economic interests. These still are among the few hundred who gather, as always, at Salem's exclusive Capitol Club.

However, today's lobbyists, all 1,300 of them registered for this past session, represent a much broader slice of Oregon life — from cat fanciers to rock climbers — and include public interest factions such as Oregon Common Cause.

It could be argued that the rising numbers of lobbyists, and their success at passing bills, have been a move in the right direction.

Carried to its extreme, a list of 2.5 million Oregon registered lobbyists would give us pure participatory democracy.

But at the current rate of growth, that won't happen until the 32nd millennium.

☐ **Marvin Callaway** is a Statesman Journal editorial writer.

WHAT THE CONSTITUTION SAYS ABOUT VOTING AND ELECTIONS

Article I, Section 2.1 (1789)

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

TRANSLATION: Voter qualifications are the same for national elections as for state elections.

Article I, Section 4.1 (1789)

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

TRANSLATION: State legislatures set election procedures, although Congress reserves the right to alter them.

Article II, Section 1.2 (1789)

Each State shall appoint, in such a manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. ... The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, ... The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President.

Article II, Section 1.3 (1789)

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

TRANSLATION: These two sections establish the Electoral College for electing the President and Vice President. NOTE: The Constitution did not provide that the President and Vice President be of the same political party. Several early elections, particularly the election of 1800, resulted in confusing situations with a President and Vice President belonging to opposing parties. The 12th Amendment, ratified in 1804, sought to remedy this confusion. It is now customary for the President to select his running mate and for electors to vote for both President and Vice President belonging to the same political party.

Amendment IX (1791)

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

TRANSLATION: While the Bill of Rights does not specifically list a "right to vote," there are many rights which are implied in the Constitution. Lack of a statement does not mean lack of a right!

Amendment X (1791)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

TRANSLATION: The Founding Fathers were particularly concerned about limiting the powers of national government. Any powers not specified in the Constitution are assumed to be given to the States. The right to vote is one of the powers which was granted to the States.

Amendment XIV (1868)

Section 1 - No State shall ... deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 5 - The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

TRANSLATION: This Amendment, passed after the Civil War in 1866 and ratified in 1868, was intended to grant basic rights to black people. The equal protection clause has been used extensively by the Supreme Court to overturn discriminatory practices by the States.

Amendment XV (1870)

Section 1 - The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2 - The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

TRANSLATION: The Congress here specifically endorsed the right to vote and included citizens of all races. The legislation clauses in Amendments 14 and 15 are important because they support Congressional action through the Civil Rights Acts and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Amendment XVII (1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

TRANSLATION: Prior to 1913, Senators were elected by the State legislatures. This amendment established elections for Senators by popular vote.

Amendment XIX (1920)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. The Congress shall have power by appropriate legislation to enforce the provisions of this article.

TRANSLATION: Ratified in 1920, this Amendment established the right of women to vote.

Amendment XXIII, Section 1 (1961)

The district constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:
A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State ... .

TRANSLATION: Gave the right to vote to citizens living in the District of Columbia for President, thus making universal suffrage in the United States "a legal reality." (Melville, p. 143) However, D.C. residents still do not have representatives or senators to represent them in Congress; they elect delegates to the House as do Guam and the Virgin Islands.

Amendment XXIV (1964)

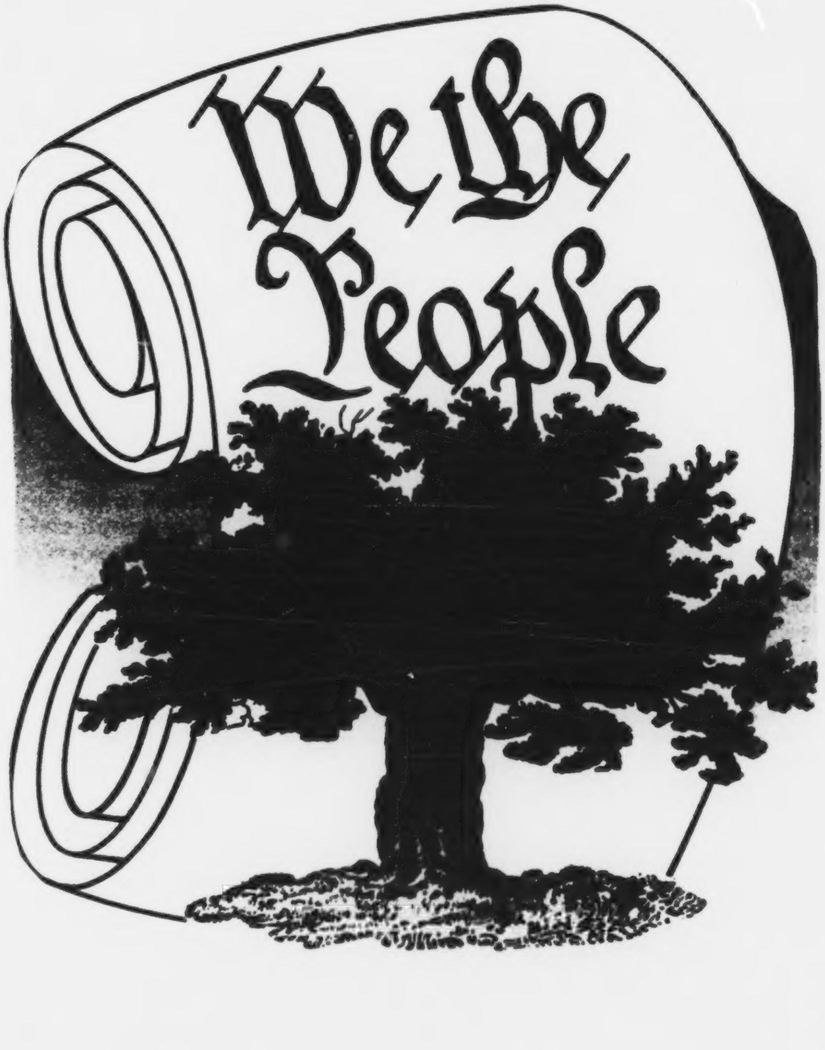
Section 1 - The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

TRANSLATION: This Amendment eliminated the poll tax as a means to exclude poor citizens from voting. The poll tax was frequently used in the South after the Civil War to undermine the voting rights of black people.

Amendment XXVI (1971)

Section 1 - The right of citizens in the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

TRANSLATION: This Amendment extended the right to vote to 18, 19, and 20-year-olds.



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Answer Key to Worksheet: Political Theory and The Right to Vote
What the Constitution Says About Voting and Elections

1. social contract: society enters into an agreement to form government. Government protects the security of its citizens and the individual liberties valued by society as a whole. Individuals give up their complete autonomy (financial-taxes and certain individual freedoms) for the common good.

   state of nature - the state of complete autonomy where man existed prior to the formation of governments. Envisioned by Locke and other political philosophers. The idea of "natural" rights is derived from the concept of a state of "nature"--where such rights were presumed to be desired by and inherent to the well-being of man.

2. education

3. by holding frequent elections

4. whim and mob rule

5. state power

6. Electoral College

7. the rise of political parties. The original Constitutional plan resulted in early administrations where the President and Vice President belonged to opposing political parties.

8. A right to vote is not specifically stated in the Constitution until the 15th Amendment (1870). The right is implied, however, in Article I, Section 4.1; Article II, Section 1.2 and 1.3; and Amendments IX and X.

9. the 14th and 15th Amendments.

   14th Amendment - grants all persons equal protection of the law.

   15th Amendment - the right to vote of citizens shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous servitude.

10. by state legislatures

11. the 19th Amendment

12. No, D.C. citizens elect delegates to the House of Representatives as do citizens of other U.S. territories (Guam, Virgin Islands).

    1961

13. Poll taxes were historically used to deny the right to vote to poor people--particularly poor black people. Elimination of the poll tax helped by removing one more obstacle to black voting rights.

14. the Vietnam War ("old enough to fight, old enough to vote")

WORKSHEET: Political Theory and the Right to Vote
What the Constitution Says About Voting and Elections

NAME ____

1. Define social contract and state of nature.

   social contract -

   state of nature -

2. Jefferson said that _________________ is necessary for leadership and democracy.

3. By what means did Madison say that dependence on and sympathy with the people can be secured in a republican government?

4. Checks and balances between branches of government and systems which make political choices through the peoples' representatives (House of Representatives, Electoral College, Presidential appointments, etc.) were established in order to insulate government from ______________ ____.

5. Are elections and voting requirements essentially governed by state power or national power?

6. Article II, Section 1.3 established the _______________ _______________ for selecting the President of the United States.

7. Originally, the Constitution provided that the candidate with the most votes would be President and the second place candidate would be Vice President. What did the Founding Fathers fail to envision?

8. Is the "right to vote" specifically stated in the Constitution? If so, where? If not, is there really a right to vote? Explain.

9. Which two amendments have been used to end discrimination against voters on the basis of race or color?

   What do these amendments say?

10. The 17th Amendment provides for the popular election of senators. How were senators chosen before 1913?

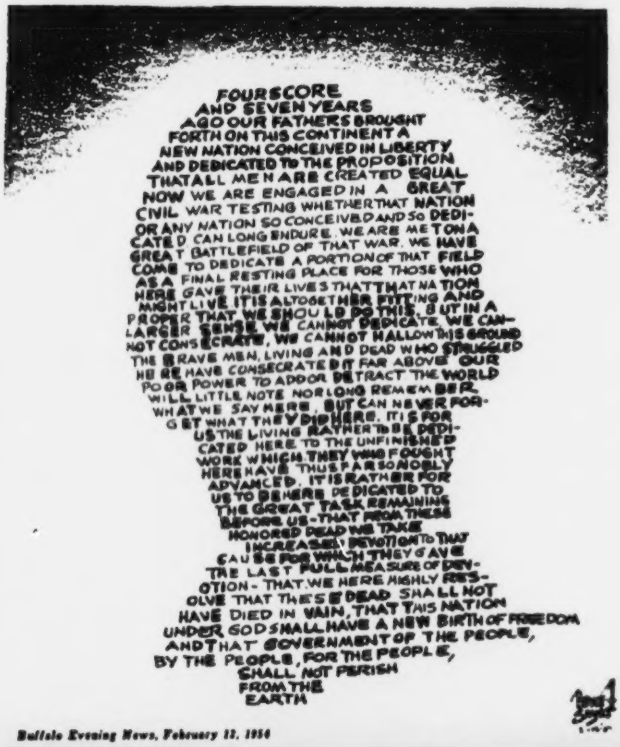
11. Which amendment gave women the right to vote?

12. Do citizens residing in the District of Columbia (Washington, D.C.) have representatives in Congress? Explain your answer.

13. The poll tax was eliminated in 1964. How did the 24th Amendment increase the numbers of eligible black voters?

14. What event stimulated the passage of the 26th Amendment, giving 18, 19, and 20-year-olds the right to vote?

'—And That Government of the People—'


FOURSCORE
AND SEVEN YEARS
AGO OUR FATHERS BROUGHT
FORTH ON THIS CONTINENT A
NEW NATION CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY
AND DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITION
THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL
NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN A GREAT
CIVIL WAR TESTING WHETHER THAT NATION
OR ANY NATION SO CONCEIVED AND SO DEDI-
CATED CAN LONG ENDURE. WE ARE MET ON A
GREAT BATTLEFIELD OF THAT WAR. WE HAVE
COME TO DEDICATE A PORTION OF THAT FIELD
AS A FINAL RESTING PLACE FOR THOSE WHO
HERE GAVE THEIR LIVES THAT THAT NATION
MIGHT LIVE. IT IS ALTOGETHER FITTING AND
PROPER THAT WE SHOULD DO THIS. BUT IN A
LARGER SENSE WE CANNOT DEDICATE. WE CAN-
NOT CONSECRATE, WE CANNOT HALLOW THIS GROUND
THE BRAVE MEN, LIVING AND DEAD WHO STRUGGLED
HERE HAVE CONSECRATED IT FAR ABOVE OUR
POOR POWER TO ADD OR DETRACT THE WORLD
WILL LITTLE NOTE NOR LONG REMEMBER
WHAT WE SAY HERE, BUT CAN NEVER FOR-
GET WHAT THEY DID HERE. IT IS FOR
US THE LIVING RATHER TO BE DEDI-
CATED HERE TO THE UNFINISHED
WORK WHICH THEY WHO FOUGHT
HERE HAVE THUS FAR SO NOBLY
ADVANCED. IT IS RATHER FOR
US TO BE HERE DEDICATED TO
THE GREAT TASK REMAINING
BEFORE US-THAT FROM THESE
HONORED DEAD WE TAKE
INCREASED DEVOTION TO THAT
CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY GAVE
THE LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEV-
OTION- THAT WE HERE HIGHLY RES-
OLVE THAT THESE DEAD SHALL NOT
HAVE DIED IN VAIN, THAT THIS NATION
UNDER GOD SHALL HAVE A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM
AND THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE,
BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE,
SHALL NOT PERISH
FROM THE
EARTH

Buffalo Evening News, February 12, 1954

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C. LESSON II - DECISION-MAKING AND REPRESENTATION

Decision-Making Activity

Follow-Up to Decision-Making Activity

Decision-Making Activity: Student Evaluation Form

Objective #2: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

discriminate between ways that the will of the people is represented in our government by:

a. examining various methods of making political choices and identifying advantages and disadvantages of each method.

DECISION-MAKING ACTIVITY

Students are assigned to write a resolution about a local, school, national, or international issue of interest to them.

Ideas for resolutions include:

There should be a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget.
Defense spending should be increased.
There should be a national child care program.
There should be a national health care program.
The schools should have voluntary prayer.
Nuclear energy plants should be closed.
There should be a constitutional amendment against flag-burning.

The traditional format for resolutions is:

WHEREAS: Reason #1
WHEREAS: Reason #2
WHEREAS: Reason #3 (optional)
THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT: Statement of resolution.

(The teacher may wish to assign the resolution as homework prior to the day of the decision-making activity.)

SELECT ONE STUDENT TO READ HIS/HER RESOLUTION TO THE CLASS.
Allow students a maximum of 10 minutes to debate the resolution.
Have students vote by secret ballot.
Tally and announce the results.
Have students evaluate this decision-making process on paper, answering the following questions:

- Was the decision-making process fair? Was it efficient?
- Were students informed about the issue?
- Was the student's decision based on fact or emotion?

SELECT ANOTHER STUDENT TO READ A RESOLUTION TO THE CLASS.
This time , divide students into two groups, or "parties", according to their initial opinion on the resolution. (Undecideds may select a group at random!)
Have groups discuss the resolution before debate begins. ("caucus")
Allow students 5-10 minutes of debate.
Have students vote by secret ballot.
Tally and announce results.
Have students evaluate this decision-making process.

SELECT A THIRD RESOLUTION TO BE READ TO THE CLASS.
Have each group (party) select five representatives to debate the resolution.
After debate, only the representatives vote.
Results are tallied and announced.
All students (representatives and observers) record evaluations.

SELECT A FOURTH RESOLUTION.
After the resolution is read, have students vote by secret ballot. (no debate)
Tally votes and announce results.
Have students record their evaluations.

HOMEWORK: Students will write a short essay comparing the four methods of deciding issues. The comparison should discuss fairness, efficiency, information (how informed were they), and persuasion as factors in the decision-making process.

FOLLOW-UP TO DECISION-MAKING ACTIVITY

Student discussion about decision-making process:

Have students compare essays and evaluation forms: how do their ideas about fairness, efficiency, information, and persuasion match up?

Chart student opinions on the chalkboard as they are discussed by reproducing the evaluation form and tallying ideas in each box.

Compare the decision-making processes used in the activity to methods of decision-making used by government:

- town meetings
- school levy elections
- statewide elections on candidates and ballot measures
- laws passed by Congress
- laws passed by state legislatures
- student council elections (school)
- city council decisions

Questions for Discussion

Which decision-making method best expresses the will of the people?

Which method guards against the "momentary passions" of the people?

Why is it important to pick "good" representatives?

Why is it important to be an informed voter?

Optional: Debate additional student resolutions. Allow students to select decision-making processes to be used.

DECISION-MAKING ACTIVITY: Student Evaluation Form

RESOLUTION (What issue is being decided?)	EVALUATION: Fairness of the Decision Process	Efficiency of the Decision Process	Information: Did I learn enough about the issue to make an informed decision?	Persuasion: Did others convince me to decide as I did?
#1 (all debate and all vote)				
#2 (all caucus, debate and vote)				
#3 (reps. debate and vote)				
#4 (no debate, all vote)				

D. LESSON III - THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The Electoral College

Facts About the
Electoral College

Map and Sample Ballot

"For Better or for
worse, Electoral College
still prevails"

Who Will Elect the President?
The Electoral College System

Electoral College Simulation

Objective #2: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

discriminate between ways that the will of the people is represented in our government by:

b. defining the structure and purpose of the Electoral College.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The Electoral College is the body of electors who meet after a presidential election to select the next president and vice president of the United States.

Written into the Constitution of 1787, the Electoral College was designed to balance the states' and the peoples' interests. Of primary concern was the possibility of a nationwide election breaking down into chaos and confusion.

An elector who, on election day, casts a vote for a presidential candidate is not voting directly for the candidate, but is casting a vote for a slate of electors who pledged their support for that candidate.

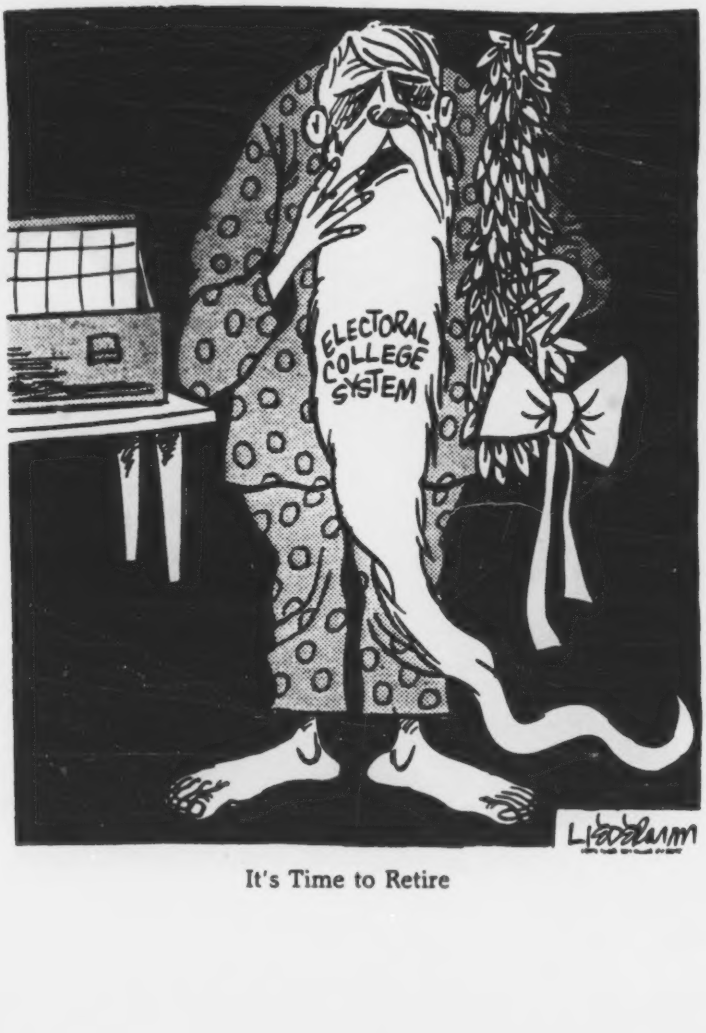
The number of electors chosen in each state is equal to the combined number of U.S. senators and representatives. Nationwide, the Electoral College comprises 539 electors.

To be elected to the presidency, a candidate must receive a majority of the Electoral College votes cast (at least 270 votes). A separate vote is taken to elect the vice president.

If no presidential candidate receives a majority of the Electoral College votes cast, the U.S. House of Representatives chooses the president from the candidates who came in first, second and third in the Electoral College vote. Only two presidents have been selected in this manner: Thomas Jefferson in 1800 and John Quincy Adams in 1824.

Today, presidential electors are chosen by direct popular vote in every state and meet only to confirm the decision made by the voters on election day.

--1989-90 Oregon Blue Book, p. 405



It's Time to Retire

FACTS ABOUT THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

- State legislatures set the procedure for the selection of electors.
- The number of electors equals the number of senators and representatives for the state.
- The Electoral College is intended to be wise, judicious, and exercise an independent vote for the President of the United States.
- Electors are chosen on the basis of their political party affiliation and vote for their party's candidate.
- The candidate who wins a plurality of the state's popular vote usually wins all of the state's electoral votes. This is called the "winner-takes-all" system.
- This system of winner-takes-all is not required by the Constitution. It has developed out of custom.
- The Electoral College system usually gives a clear-cut victory to a candidate--even when the popular vote is very close.

Examples:

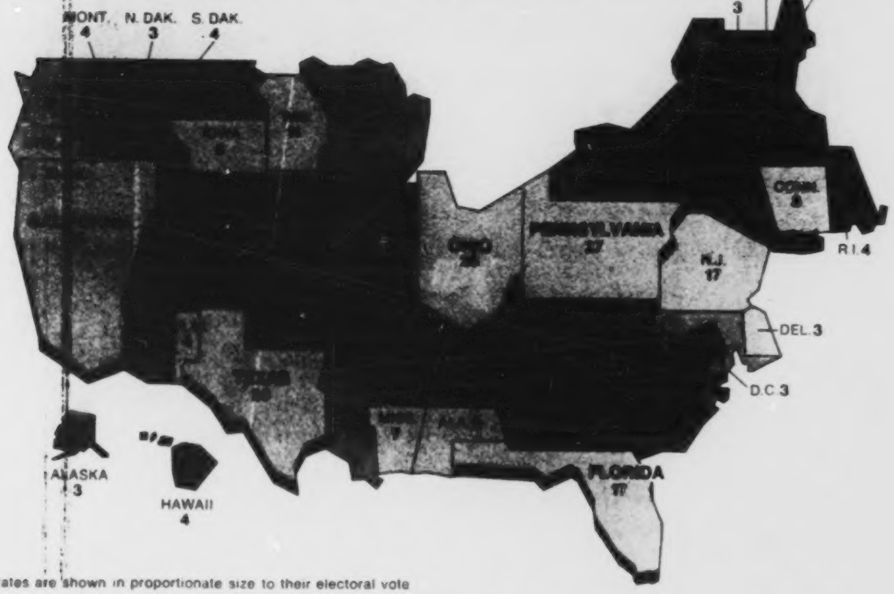
1888 election:	Grover Cleveland		Benjamin Harrison
popular vote	5,540,309	(.3% difference)	5,439,853
electoral vote	233	(16% difference)	168

1968 election:	Richard Nixon	Hubert Humphrey	George Wallace
popular vote	31,785,480 (43.4%)	31,275,165 (42.7%)	9,906.473 (13.5%)
electoral vote	301 (55.9%)	191 (35.5%)	46 (8.6%)

270 ELECTORAL VOTES ARE NEEDED TO WIN.

Time,
Oct. 13,
1980,
p. 16

WHERE THE ELECTORAL BATTLE STANDS

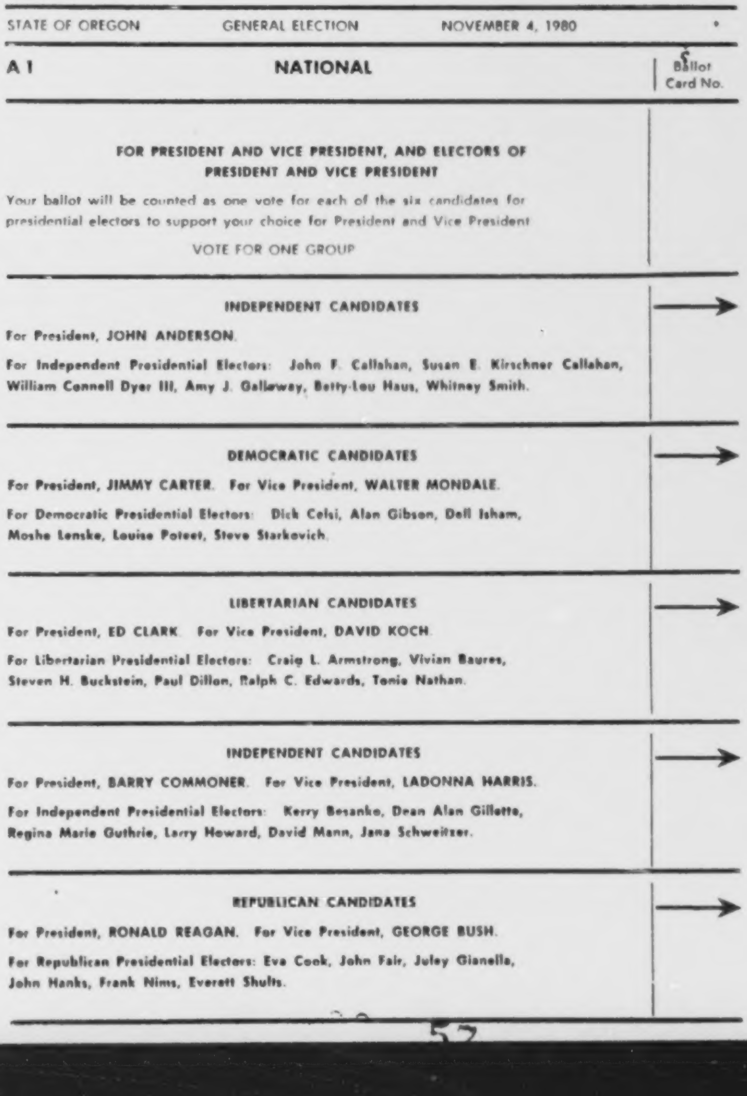


States are shown in proportionate size to their electoral vote

Source TIME Correspondents

When you vote for President, you are actually voting for a group of electors to the Electoral College.

Notice the electors listed on this 1980 general election ballot.



STATE OF OREGON GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 4, 1980

A 1 **NATIONAL** Ballot Card No.

FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT, AND ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Your ballot will be counted as one vote for each of the six candidates for presidential electors to support your choice for President and Vice President

VOTE FOR ONE GROUP

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES →

For President, JOHN ANDERSON.

For Independent Presidential Electors: John F. Callahan, Susan E. Kirschner Callahan, William Connell Dyer III, Amy J. Galloway, Betty-Lou Haus, Whitney Smith.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES →

For President, JIMMY CARTER. For Vice President, WALTER MONDALE.

For Democratic Presidential Electors: Dick Celsi, Alan Gibson, Dell Isham, Moshe Lenske, Louise Poteet, Steve Starkovich.

LIBERTARIAN CANDIDATES →

For President, ED CLARK. For Vice President, DAVID KOCH.

For Libertarian Presidential Electors: Craig L. Armstrong, Vivian Baures, Steven H. Buckstein, Paul Dillon, Ralph C. Edwards, Tonie Nathan.

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES →

For President, BARRY COMMONER. For Vice President, LADONNA HARRIS.

For Independent Presidential Electors: Kerry Besanko, Dean Alan Gillette, Regina Marie Guthrie, Larry Howard, David Mann, Jana Schweitzer.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES →

For President, RONALD REAGAN. For Vice President, GEORGE BUSH.

For Republican Presidential Electors: Eva Cook, John Fair, Juley Gianella, John Hanks, Frank Nims, Everett Shults.

The Oregonian, November, 1988.

For better or for worse, Electoral College still prevails

Once again this antique machinery, not voters, will determine presidency

By STANLEY MEISLER
LA Times-Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Every four years, Americans drag out their antique machinery for electing a president, vow to repair or replace it before disaster comes, hold their breath while it creaks forth a new leader, sigh in relief that it still works and then pack it away and forget it.

This peculiar American institution is the Electoral College. Critics look on it as a seedbed for calamity. They have called it "an abortive organism" and "a hoary and outworn relic of the stagecoach era." The Electoral College has many defenders, but they rarely praise its virtues. They merely warn that anything else might prove worse.

"The Electoral College is not pretty," says William R. Keech, a political scientist at the University of North Carolina who has taken part in a study of the institution for the Twentieth Century Fund. "It has no clear rationale. But, by and large, it does its job well. . . . If there were a perfect alternative, I would be for it. But there is no perfect alternative."

Intensifying current interest in the Electoral College are the latest public opinion polls, which reflect only a moderate lead for Republican George Bush over Democrat Michael S. Dukakis in the popular vote but a massive lead for Bush in the Electoral College.

At the least, these polls suggest that the Electoral College favors the Republicans because of their "lock" on small states, which have a disproportionate number of electoral votes.

And they evoke unpleasant memories of the presidential election of exactly 100 years ago, the last time the winner actually lost the popular vote: Democrat Grover Cleveland won more popular votes than Republican Benjamin Harrison but lost the election in the Electoral College.

To A. James Reichley, a Brookings Institution specialist on American elections, that was a long time ago. "The Electoral College," he says, "hasn't presented a real problem for 100 years. . . . People don't like it very much, but it's not an urgent problem."

But Keech says another election like 1888's would revive a host of dormant proposals to change the Electoral College. "All you need is for something to happen," he says, "and desk drawers will open and these will fly out."

Until then, Americans will not vote directly for president. Instead, they will vote for "electors" — often not named on ballots — for the presidential candidates. These electors make up the Electoral College, a body that never meets together.

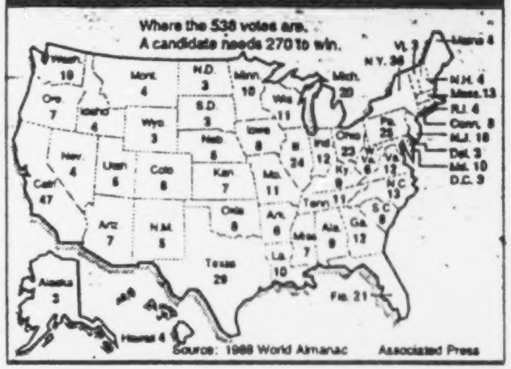
Small states have advantage

The number of electors in each state is equal to the total number of its members of Congress — senators and members of the House of Representatives. Each state's House delegation is proportional to its population. But each state, no matter how small, has two senators, and so small states have proportionately more electors than large ones.

And there is a further, more serious source of distortion. In 49 states and the District of Columbia, which has three electors, the winning presidential candidate takes all the electoral votes, whether he wins the popular vote by a landslide or a single vote. Maine, the one exception, chooses two of its electors according to the statewide vote and the other two according to the vote in its two congressional districts.

The winner-takes-all tradition favors the candidate who manages to capture the big cities that dominate the large, industrial states with their huge blocks of electoral votes.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE



Source: 1988 World Almanac Associated Press

The electors, chosen by state political parties according to procedures that vary from state to state, are often little-known party officials or fund raisers.

After the election, the victorious electors meet in their state capitals on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December — Dec. 19 this year — to cast their official ballots. The ballots are forwarded to Washington, where the vice president opens and counts them on Jan. 6 in the presence of the members of the Senate and the House.

Thus on next Jan. 6, Vice President Bush will have the duty to proclaim either himself or his opponent as president-elect of the United States.

If no candidate has a majority, the House, with each state delegation casting a single vote, chooses a president from the three leading candidates. That has not happened since 1824, when the House chose John Quincy Adams, even though he lagged behind Andrew Jackson in both the popular vote and the electoral vote.

The strange American system is rooted in the conviction of the 1787 Constitutional Convention that the American voters were too ignorant to select a president on their own. When the convention delegates created the Electoral College, they assumed that the electors would deliberate and choose the most qualified man. In 1789, the first 69 electors unanimously selected George Washington as the first president of the United States.

The development of political parties, however, soon put an end to any idea that the electors would actually deliberate and make a free choice. The electors — whether Federalist, Whig, Democratic or Republican — began to vote automatically for the presidential candidate of their party.

But there never has been any constitutional requirement that they actually cast their ballots in this fashion. From time to time, "faithless electors," as they are known, ignore the popular will of their states and vote their consciences or whims.

Most recently, Mike Padden, a Republican elector from the state of Washington, which went for Gerald Ford in 1976, voted instead for Ronald Reagan. Padden, now 41 and a state legislator from Spokane, said he voted for Reagan, who had been defeated by Ford for the Republican nomination, "out of solidarity with his strong position on pro-life."

"I was four years ahead of my time," Padden said. "I met Reagan some years later, and he said to me, 'Boy, we sure gave 'em a go in '76. It came so close.' " The final vote in the Electoral College was Jimmy Carter, 297; Ford, 240, and Reagan, 1.

Four years earlier, Roger L. MacBride, a Republican elector from Virginia, which was carried by Richard M. Nixon in 1972, voted instead for the Libertarian Party candidate, John Hospers, in the Electoral College.

"Where I lived," said MacBride recently, "people loathed Mr. Nixon, and they loathed Mr. McGovern even more. I thought it was time to send a message to the White House." The message, according to MacBride, was that Nixon's victory reflected objections to McGovern more than support for Nixon.

Never did the Electoral College generate more confusion than in 1876, when Democratic candidate Samuel J. Tilden won 51 percent of the popular vote but lost by one electoral vote after Republicans challenged what they described as corrupt returns from Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina.

On a straight party vote, a congressionally appointed commission awarded all the challenged electoral votes to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes. Southern Democrats agreed not to challenge the decision after Hayes promised to end Reconstruction. He was not proclaimed the president-elect until two days before he took the oath of office.

Some political scientists believe John F. Kennedy was a minority president in 1960. The confusion stemmed from Alabama, where the presidential ballot listed only the electors and not the presidential candidates.

The Democratic electors won and all the popular votes they garnered were given to Kennedy. But only five of the Democratic electors were pledged to vote for Kennedy in the Electoral College, and the other six ultimately voted for Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.

Lost popular vote?

Consequently, some political scientists insist that in the popular vote, Kennedy should be credited with only five of every 11 Democratic votes from Alabama. That would not have changed Kennedy's substantial Electoral College victory, but it would have turned Kennedy's 115,000-vote margin over Nixon in the national popular vote into a 58,000-vote loss.

To critics of the Electoral College system, its most worrisome aspect is the provision that sends elections to the House of Representatives when the Electoral College fails to give any candidate a majority.

Under that provision, every state, whether as large as California or as lightly populated as Wyoming, has a single vote. The delegations of the 26 smallest states, representing only 18 percent of the population, could elect the president.

Both Presidents Nixon and Carter endorsed a constitutional amendment that would have abolished the Electoral College in favor of direct popular election. Under the proposal, if no candidate won 40 percent of the vote, there would be a runoff between the two leading candidates.

The House approved the amendment in 1969, but it has died several times in the Senate, opposed by senators from small states that do not want to give up their advantage in the Electoral College.

In any case, political scientist Keech says, there is no guarantee that direct elections, especially if they attracted many candidates, would guarantee fulfillment of the national will. A liberal might be elected with 41 percent of the vote, for example, if two conservatives divided the other 59 percent.

"Direct elections," Keech said, "can be arbitrary and capricious as well."

Who Will Elect the President?

The Electoral College System

Every four years, the Electoral College, a little known feature of our Constitution, enjoys a fleeting moment of glory. About six weeks after the long grind of the presidential election is over, the 538 members of the college meet in their respective states to perform their sole constitutional function: to elect the President and the Vice-President of the United States.

But the impact of the college on presidential elections is far greater—and more controversial—than its brief life indicates. For example, many knowledgeable observers of American politics attribute the predominance of two major parties to the winner-take-all feature of the college's state-based system: in all but one state,* losing candidates, whether they get two million or two votes, get no electors. As a result, small parties and less well known candidates seldom have had a chance to affect the outcome of an election directly. The usual effect of so-called "third-force" candidates is to take away votes from one major party candidate in a close race, tipping the results to the other major party candidate. But if a third or fourth candidate does manage to carry at least one state and some electoral votes — and that has happened in four elections since 1900 — then he or she may have a huge impact — partly because the House of Representatives gets to choose the President (and the Senate, the Vice-President) if the Electoral College can't produce an absolute majority.

Politicians and pundits disagree as to whether the college favors small states, or whether it gives an indirect advantage to rural areas or to ethnic minority clusters in populous states. They disagree over its value as a preserver of federalism or as an impediment to the principle of one-person, one-vote. All observers agree, however, that every four years the voters of America need to be reminded of the ins and outs of the Electoral College system before they cast their ballot for President.

How It Works

Americans choose their President in a complicated series of steps that have evolved from Article I, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, through various amendments, federal and state laws, political party rules and traditions.

The Constitution authorizes each state to appoint a number of electors equal to the number of representatives plus senators that the state has in Congress. To this total of 435 plus 100, the Twenty-third Amendment added three for the District of Columbia — the same number of electors as the least populous state — bringing the total of the college to 538 members.

The Constitution is silent on how a state is to choose its electors. In the early years, legislatures adopted several methods: appointment by the legislature, election by the people on a statewide bases, or a combination of these methods. But by 1836, almost every state was using a popular vote system.

On election day, when voters in each state go to the polls, each one casts a ballot for the slate of presidential electors who are pledged to support the candidate the voter prefers. These slates have been selected by political parties, through conventions, committees or primaries. When a candidate is not the nominee of a party, the slate is named through a petition filed with a required number of signatures. In over half the states, only the names of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates appear on the ballot, masking the fact that voters are choosing electors rather than voting directly for the candidates. In the other states, both candidates and electors are identified.

The winning slate of electors meets in each state on the Monday following the second Wednesday in December, a date set by federal statute. Two ballots are taken, with each elector casting one vote for the President and one for the Vice-President. Electors almost always vote for the candidates to whom they have been pledged. The Constitution, however, does not bind them to do so, and in fact an independent elector is what the Framers had in mind when they first designed the college (see box: Why the Framers Set Up the Electoral College). Since 1789, there have been few so-called "faithless" electors who have not cast their ballots for the candidates they were expected to support. To date, the vote of a faithless elector has never changed the outcome of an election; but concern about this possibility has led one-third of the states to enact laws binding electors. Congress, however, has not acted to restrict electors' freedom to vote as they please; some observers believe Congress does not have the power to do so.

Results of the mid-December vote in each state are sent to Congress to be counted on January 6, in the presence of the newly elected Senate and House of Representatives. If one candidate for the office of President (and one candidate for the office of Vice-President) gets 270 votes — a majority of the total number of 538 electors — a President has been elected.

If it is apparent after the November election that no candidate is assured of a majority of electors' votes, the period from the general election to the December vote of the Electoral College may become a time of intense political horse-trading. A candidate who has only a few electoral votes may use those votes as bargaining chips with other candidates in exchange for influence over their policies and appointments. George Wallace, running for President in 1968, expected to play that role, but when Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate, won a clear-cut electoral majority, Wallace's bargaining power was lost.

Elections in the House and Senate

The Twelfth Amendment clarifies the procedures for so-called "contingent elections"—those that are thrown into the House and Senate for lack of an Electoral College majority.

The following rules regulate the House's choice of the President:

☐ Only the top three vote-getters in the electoral college are to be considered.

☐ Regardless of its population and number of representatives, each state delegation in the House has only one vote, for a total of 50 votes. The District of Columbia, which sends a nonvoting delegate to the House, has no vote.

☐ The state's choice is determined by a vote within its delegation. If that vote is a tie, the state loses its vote.

☐ A winning candidate must receive the votes of a majority — 26 — of states.

☐ There is no limit to the number of ballots in the House.

If the House fails to choose a President by Inauguration Day, January 20th, the Twentieth Amendment requires that the Vice-

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*Maine is the only state that allocates electoral votes in proportion to the percentage of the popular vote each candidate receives.

League of Women Voters Education Fund

President-elect, provided that the Senate has chosen one, serve as President until the House makes it choice.

The Senate follows these rules in its selection of the Vice-President:

☐ The choice is between the top *two* vice presidential vote-getters in the Electoral College.

☐ Each senator has one vote, for a total of 100 votes (no vote for the District of Columbia).

☐ A Vice-President must be elected by a majority — 51 — of the whole Senate.

If the Senate also fails to elect a Vice-President, the Succession Act of 1948 provides that the Speaker of the House shall act as President until a President is chosen. This law was enacted under authority given to the Congress by the Twentieth Amendment.

Although the *procedures* for the way the House and Senate vote are set by the Constitution, there are no rules governing how individual members of Congress vote in such contingent elections in the House and Senate. Members are free to vote as they please within their state's delegation. It is conceivable, under these circumstances that the House might select a President of one party and the Senate, a Vice-President of the other.

The Electoral College: Pros and Cons

The Electoral College has been the subject of much discussion over the years. It lacks neither supporters nor critics.

Opponents of the college call it undemocratic. They say it functions in contradiction to the one-person, one-vote principle, by giving each state at least three votes, even though on a straight population basis, some states might be entitled to only one or two. If the choice of a President goes to the House of Representatives, where each state has only one vote, the election becomes even further removed from the equality-of-population principle. These critics point out that in a contingent election, the single representative from the least populous state has a vote that carries 45 times more weight than that of a representative from the state of California, the most populous state, with the largest number of representatives. There are six states with only one representative.

Supporters of the college argue that the principle of one-person, one-vote should not pertain to the college, just as it does not pertain to the U.S. Senate. They point out that the college was designed to underscore the federal nature of the U.S. government. The college, they argue, recognizes and embodies the delicate balance between the powers of the states and the powers of the central government. Other supporters believe that the seeming bias towards the small states may not be real. Because of the winner-take-all rule, a small margin of victory in California, New York, Illinois or Texas gets a much larger block of electoral votes than could be won by large popular majorities in any number of small states.

Critics charge that the Electoral College allows a dangerous possibility: the election of a President who has not won in the popular vote. The possibility became fact in the 1888 election. Grover Cleveland received 48.7 percent of the popular vote to Benjamin Harrison's 47.9 percent, but Harrison carried New York state and therefore outpolled Cleveland by 233 to 168 in the Electoral College. In the 1976 election, a switch of 9,245 votes in Ohio and Hawaii would have denied an electoral majority to President Carter despite his 1.5 million vote plurality. The election of a President who received less than a popular vote plurality is perceived by some critics as a potential constitutional crisis of the first magnitude, an outcome that would not be acceptable to the American people.

On the other hand, supporters of the college assert that it has worked well over the last 48 presidential elections. "If it ain't broke, don't fix it" is the rallying cry of opponents. Those who think the college has functioned well and will continue to do so assert that the election of 1888, often used as a horrible example by those who seek change, was a statistical anomaly that is unlikely to occur again.

Why the Framers Set Up the Electoral College

> *It was desirable that the sense of the people should operate in the choice of [the President]. This end will be answered by committing the right of making [the choice] not to any pre-established body, but to men chosen by the people for the special purpose, and at the particular conjuncture.*
>
> *It was equally desirable that the immediate election should be made by men most capable of analyzing the qualities adapted to the station and acting under circumstances favorable to deliberation, and to a judicious combination of all the reasons and inducements which were proper to govern their choice. A small number of persons, selected by their fellow citizens from the general mass, will be most likely to possess the information and discernment requisite to so complicated an investigation.*
>
> Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist*, No. 68

Over the years, some of those who basically support the Electoral College system, as well as those who think it works badly, have suggested changes in the system by which Americans elect their President. At one end of the spectrum are those who want to abolish the Electoral College and elect the President by direct popular vote. A direct election amendment has been introduced in the Senate over 60 times, most recently in 1979, but has failed to garner the required two-thirds vote. (In 1970, a direct election amendment did pass in the House.) In all likelihood, an amendment will be introduced again in 1981.

Other proposals for change include:

☐ The automatic plan, to abolish the office of electors and automatically allocate the electoral votes of the states on a winner-take-all basis.

☐ The district plan, to retain the electoral vote allocation for each state but replace the winner-take-all-by-state with a winner-take-all-by-district, which may or may not be congressional districts, depending on the specific legislation.

☐ The proportional plan, to abolish the office of elector and divide each state's electoral vote proportionately to correspond with the popular vote within the state for the various presidential nominees.

For Further Information

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ELECTORAL COLLEGE SIMULATION:

You will need:

- students arranged in groups of 3 or 5
- a calculator
- a map of the United States with the number of electoral votes for each state
- an "election" of your choice. Select two candidates which will be familiar to students and provide some variety of opinion. (The focus here is on the process, not what candidates stand for.)

Possibilities: a recent political race (Governor, President)
favorite musical group or singer
favorite television or film star

(Note: Using students in the class or even school may create hurt feelings!)

Step 1: Have each group select a state. They are now the "electors" from that state. Tell the group how many electoral votes they are allotted.

Step 2: Have each student vote by secret ballot for the candidate of choice. Allow no discussion!

Step 3: Have students hand the ballots to a group representative. Tally the popular vote on the board. "Oregon has two votes for Candidate 1 and one vote for Candidate 2."

Step 4: Now re-tally the ballots, according to electoral votes--"winner-takes-all for each group. "Oregon, with 6 electoral votes, casts its ballot for Candidate 1."

Step 5: Using the calculator, determine the winning candidate by electoral vote.

Step 6: Optional: with the calculator, compare the percentage difference between the popular vote and the electoral vote.

Step 7: Follow-up Discussion Questions:

1. What do you think is the purpose of the Electoral College?
2. How did the electoral vote influence the class election?
3. If different states had been chosen, how might the outcome of the election have been affected? (You might want to rerun the simulation, changing the states for the groups.)
4. Which states had the most electoral votes? If you were a candidate in this election, would the electoral vote allocation influence how you spent your campaign time and money?
5. What would have happened in the election with a third candidate? (You might want to try another simulation with three candidates.)
6. In 1969, an amendment to abolish the Electoral College passed the U.S. House of Representatives, but did not make it out of the Senate.

   How might this amendment have affected our system of electing the President:

   - in challenges to the accuracy of the national vote? What are some advantages and disadvantages for requesting a recount?
   - in making run-off elections necessary?
   - in maintaining the two-party system?
   - in allocating the campaign time and money of candidates?

E. LESSON IV - DISCRIMINATION AND VOTING RIGHTS

Limitations On the Right to Vote

Voter Discrimination Activity

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

Voter Discrimination and the
Voting Rights Act of 1965 Activity

Objective #3: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand that the right to vote has been limited in our society by explaining how four tools were used to limit voter registration.

Objective #4: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

recall the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 by listing them.

LIMITATIONS ON THE RIGHT TO VOTE

1. Poll tax - A tax payment which was required before a person could register to vote. Poor black people could not afford to pay the tax and therefore could not vote.

2. All-white primary - Black people were excluded from voting in the primary elections, but could vote in the general elections. Since one party generally dominated in the southern states, the primary elections usually picked the winner.

3. Literacy test - States required citizens to pass a literacy test before they could register to vote. The tests required citizens to understand and explain the Constitution. Since black people were historically denied a formal education, they could not pass the tests. Also test situations were rigged to make sure that even educated black people could not pass the literacy test.

4. Grandfather clause - State constitutions contained a clause freeing citizens from taking literacy and other voting tests if their descendants were entitled to vote in 1866. Such clauses exempted white people from taking the difficult tests.

From Corbin, Issues In American History: The Right To Vote, p. 53.

To protest restrictions against black voters, Martin Luther King, Jr., led a historic march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital of Montgomery in 1965. The march resulted in passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

VOTER DISCRIMINATION ACTIVITY

Step 1 - Divide the class into small groups.

Step 2 - Ask each group to think of a plan to limit the voting rights of one group in your school. (Examples of discriminators: eye color, color of T-shirt, those who wear blue jeans, musical taste, interests.)

Step 3 - Ask each group to share its plan.

Step 4 - Have the class critique each group's plan on the following criteria:

- What would be the impact on school elections? positive? negative? no impact?
- How difficult would the plan be to administer? Is it workable?
- How would the plan affect the attitudes of people in the school? voters? non-voters?

Step 5 - Now have the class select one group's plan. Pretend the school has decided to implement the plan and it is up to this class to end discrimination at the school.

Each group must write a "law" (or "act") to eliminate discrimination. The law should include the following components:

- a rationale or reason for being enacted,
- a statement of specific steps which will end discrimination,
- a statement of enforcement provisions--ways to make sure that something will happen if people in charge choose to ignore the law.

Homework: Complete the law if you did not finish during class time.

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

1. Suspended literacy tests and similar voting qualifications where found to be in use for a period of five years from the last occurrence of substantial voter discrimination.

2. Attorney General is designated to determine whether voter discrimination was taking place and had power to review all new state voting regulations.

3. Director of the Census further had to determine that less than 50% of non-white voting age residents were registered to vote on November 1, 1964 or had voted in the Presidential election of 1964.

4. The Civil Service Commission appointed federal examiners to supervise voter registration and elections in states practicing discrimination in violation of the 15th Amendment. Federal examiners were sent when the Attorney General received written complaints from at least 20 residents complaining they were disenfranchised on the basis of race, or where the appointment of examiners was otherwise necessary to "effectuate the guarantees of the 15th Amendment." Federal pollwatchers were authorized in places where federal examiners had already been assigned.

5. Penalties of $5,000 fine and/or 5 years imprisonment for:

   - refusing to permit any person to vote who is entitled or qualified to vote,
   - willfully failing or refusing to tabulate, count, and report such person's vote,
   - intimidating, threatening, or coercing a qualified voter,
   - attempting to intimidate, threaten, or coerce a qualified voter,
   - conspiring to intimidate, threaten, or coerce a qualified voter.

6. Termination of federal control will take place when the Attorney General believes that there is no longer reason to fear discrimination or if the Director of the Census determines that more than 50% of non-white voting age residents are registered to vote.

IMPACT OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965:

- In 1964, less than 1.5 million black people were registered to vote in the 11 southern states.

- In 1969, over three million black people voted.

- Black people have continued to win political offices and gain strength via the Black Caucus.

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION:

Was the Voting Rights Act of 1965 justified in light of the Constitution's provisions for state power over elections and voter qualifications?

VOTER DISCRIMINATION AND THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 ACTIVITY

Step 1 - Reassemble groups. Allow 5 minutes for groups to review their laws and come to consensus.

Step 2 - Have each group share its law. Have the class critique the laws on the three required components: rationale, specific steps, and enforcement provisions.

Step 3 - Present information to the class about "Limitations On The Right to Vote" and the "Voting Rights Act of 1965." Use background information sheet as transparency and/or handout for the class.

Step 4 - Compare the class' discrimination plans to those outlined under "Limitations On the Right to Vote." Ask the class to find similarities and differences.

Step 5 - Compare the laws designed by the class to the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. What was eliminated by the Voting Rights Act? How was it enforced?

Step 6 - Closure: Have students make a list of the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 without notes. List provisions they remember and add any points that were left out.

Optional assignment: Have students write a short essay about their views on voter discrimination and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

F. LESSON V - SUPREME COURT CASES ABOUT ELECTIONS AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Discussion/Essay Questions

Outline of Supreme Court Cases on Voting Qualifications and Elections

I. Poll Taxes and Property Qualifications

II. Literacy Qualifications

III. The White Primary Cases

IV. Other Discrimination Cases

V. Disqualification for Committing Crimes

VI. Residence Qualifications

Oregon case: Barilla v. Ervin

VII. Apportionment and the Right to Vote

Illustrations: Reapportionment and the Gerrymander

Critical Thinking Activity: Distinguishing Bias From Reason

Objective #5: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

analyze Supreme Court cases about elections which have shaped constitutional amendments and promoted passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 by comparing and contrasting the fact situations, decisions, and rules established in each Supreme Court case.

NOTE TO TEACHERS: You may wish to limit your study of cases to one or two of the above election topics.

SUPREME COURT CASES ABOUT ELECTIONS AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE

DISCUSSION/ESSAY QUESTIONS:

1. In these cases, what fundamental rights do the justices uphold?

2. In what cases do the justices interpret the Constitution? In what cases do the justices actually make new laws? In your opinion, is the Supreme Court using its judicial power or is it usurping power granted to the Congress and the states?

3. The Court has a tradition of stare decisis (following previous case decisions, "precedents," to decide new cases). Where were precedents overruled in the cases you studied?

4. Is it possible that political and historical events brought about a "change of mind" in the Supreme Court? Can you think of examples where this might have occurred?

5. Can you find any cases where the Supreme Court decisions encouraged Congress to amend the Constitution or pass legislation?

6. Can you find any cases where new Constitutional amendments or legislation changed the pattern of the judicial decisions?

7. Which cases do you think were fair? Which were unfair? Justify your opinion.

8. Pretend that you are Mr. Nixon living in Texas in the 1920's. You are denied your right to vote in primary elections because you are black. You take your case to the Supreme Court and win. Then the State of Texas passes a new law allowing political parties to decide the qualifications for primary elections. You are again denied the right to vote, because your political party decided to exclude black people. You take your case again to the Supreme Court--and you lose!

   How could this happen? What was the reasoning of the Court in each case? How long did you have to wait until your right to vote in primary elections was finally assured?

9. Do you think that the Founding Fathers' decision to make voting a state power was a wise one? Where has the federal government decided to "step in" to make sure that the States promote the rights of individuals? Can you think of examples where the Congress has acted? where the Supreme Court has acted? Do you believe that such action by the federal government was appropriate or necessary? Why or why not?

10. Review each of the election topics. List the rule(s) which resulted from the Supreme Court cases under each topic.

OUTLINE OF SUPREME COURT CASES ON VOTING QUALIFICATIONS AND ELECTIONS

I. POLL TAXES AND PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS

Breedlove v. Suttles (1937) 302 U.S. 277

FACTS: Breedlove, a 28-year-old white male citizen, applied to register to vote in Georgia. He had not paid Georgia's $1.00 per year poll tax and demanded that the registrar allow him to register without paying it. The registrar refused.

QUESTION: Does the poll tax violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, or the 19th Amendment?

DECISION: No.

REASON: There was no showing in this case that the tax was used to further racial discrimination. The fact that a law results in treating some groups differently from others does not automatically violate the Equal Protection Clause. A poll tax can be based on a state's "reasonable" (versus evil) purpose to collect revenue and to promote the interest of voters in furthering the State's welfare when they vote. Even though the law exempts women from paying the tax, the Court held that it was not the purpose of the 19th Amendment to limit the taxing power of the State.

Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections (1966) 383 U.S. 663

FACTS: Virginia residents brought suit to have Virginia's poll tax declared unconstitutional. Their complaint was dismissed in District Court based on the Supreme Court decision in *Breedlove v. Suttles*.

QUESTION: Does the poll tax violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment in *state* elections?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "Voter qualifications have no relation to wealth nor to paying or not paying this or any other tax" ... "Our cases demonstrate that the Equal Protection Clause restrains the States from fixing voter qualifications which invidiously discriminate." ... "Levy 'by the poll,' ... is an old familiar form of taxation; and we say nothing to impair its validity so long as it is not made a condition to the exercise of the franchise. *Breedlove v. Suttles* sanctioned its use as 'a prerequisite of voting.' To that extent the *Breedlove* case is overruled." ... "Notions of what constitutes equal protection for purposes of the Equal Protection Clause *do* change."

NOTE: In 1964, the 24th Amendment was adopted which forbade use of a poll tax to deny the vote in all *federal* elections.

Kramer v. Union Free School District (1969) 395 U.S. 621

FACTS: The New York Education Law provided that in certain New York school districts, residents could vote in the school district election only if they owned or leased taxable real property within the district or if they had custody of children enrolled in local public schools. Kramer, a bachelor who did not own or lease property, filed suit in federal court claiming the law denied him equal protection of the law. His case was dismissed by the District Court.

QUESTION: Can the right to vote be conditioned on property ownership?

DECISION: No.

REASON: If a state statute grants the right to vote to some citizens who are residents, citizens, and meet age requirements, and denies the vote to others, the Court must determine whether there is a compelling state interest to allow the exclusion. The State argued that it is necessary to limit the vote to those "primarily interested in school affairs" because of the complexity of the school system and because nonparents and nontaxpayers would be less informed and less interested. Kramer argued that all members of the community have an interest in the quality and structure of public education and that property tax levels affect everyone as they affect the price of goods and services in a community. The Court determined that New York's statute did not precisely meet its goal. "The classifications in Section 2012 permit inclusion of many persons who have, at best, a remote and indirect interest in school affairs and on the other hand, exclude others who have a distinct and direct interest in the school meeting decisions."

Cipriano v. Houma (1969) 395 U.S. 701

FACTS: A Louisiana statute gave the right to vote only to property taxpayers in elections called to approve the issuance of revenue bonds by a municipal utility.

QUESTION: Does this statute violate equal protection?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: Only 40% of the city's registered voters were taxpayers. The operation of utilities affected virtually every resident. "Indeed, the benefits and burdens of the bond issue fell indiscriminately on property owner and nonproperty owner alike." The classification was found to be "wholly irrelevant to achievement of the State's objective."

Phoenix v. Kolodziejski (1970) 399 U.S. 204

FACTS: An Arizona law permitted only real property taxpayers to vote on the issuance of "general obligation bonds" to finance muncipal improvements such as the city sewer system, parks and playgrounds, police, and libraries.

QUESTION: Does the statute violate equal protection?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "The differences between the interests of property owners and the interests of nonproperty owners are not sufficiently substantial to justify excluding the latter from the franchise." All residents have an interest in public facilities. More than half of the debt service on the bonds will be paid from other revenues, such as local taxes paid by everyone.

Hill v. Stone (1975) 421 U.S. 289

FACTS: Voters in a tax bond election to construct a city library in Fort Worth, Texas challenged state and city laws which limited their right to vote. The laws required some property ownership (real, mixed or personal) in order to vote.

QUESTION: Do the Texas laws violate the 14th Amendment Equal Protection Clause?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: There was no compelling state interest which would limit the right to vote. A general obligation bond issue is a matter of general, not specific, interest.

Salyer Land Co. v. Tulare Lake Basin Water Storage District (1973) 410 U.S. 719

FACTS: California statutes permitted only landowners to vote in water storage district elections and apportioned votes according to the assessed valuation of the land.

QUESTION: Does this statute limiting voters in a special purpose district violate equal protection?

DECISION: No. (5-4 decision)

REASON: The district does not exercise normal governmental authority and its actions disproportionately affect landowners. The legislative decision has a rational basis.

Dissenters argued that all residents have an interest in flood control and that such a system results in a "corporate political kingdom undreamed of by those who wrote our Constitution."

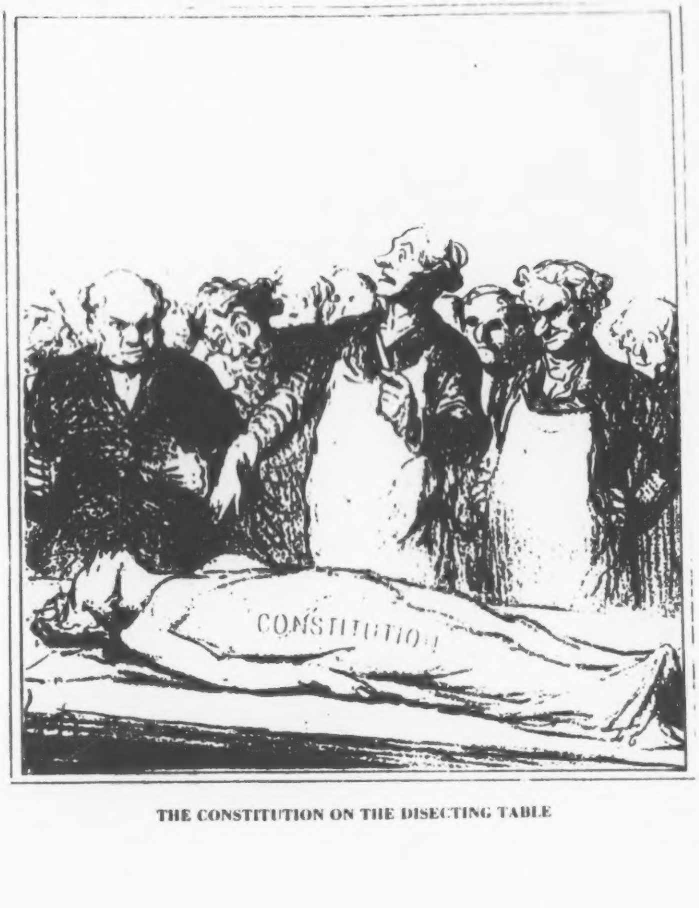
Ball v. James (1981) 451 U.S. 355

FACTS: The Salt River Project Agricultural Improvement and Power District stores and delivers water and is the major supplier of electricity to residents of Central Arizona, including Phoenix. Almost all of its income comes from sales of electricity. Under state law, the District's directors are elected by landowners and voting power is apportioned according to the number of acres owned. Voters owning no land or less than an acre filed suit.

QUESTION: Does the election law violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: No.

REASON: The voting scheme bears a reasonable relationship to its statutory objectives. The District's water is distributed according to land ownership. The District's electrical power functions are only incidental to its water functions.



THE CONSTITUTION ON THE DISECTING TABLE

II. LITERACY QUALIFICATIONS

Lassiter v. Northampton County Bd. of Elections (1959) 360 U.S. 45

FACTS: A North Carolina law required that all voters be able "to read and write any section of the Constitution of North Carolina in the English language." The literacy test was part of a provision of the North Carolina Constitution that also included a grandfather clause.

QUESTION: Does this requirement violate equal protection?

DECISION: No.

REASON: Unless racial discrimination is shown, a state is not constitutionally forbidden to limit voting to persons who are literate.

Louisiana v. U.S. (1965) 380 U.S. 145

FACTS: A 1960 Louisiana state constitution provision required every voter applicant to "be able to understand" and "give a reasonable interpretation" of any section of the state or federal constitution "when read to him by the registrar." There was no objective standard to determine how the test would be given (oral or written), how long or complex the section of the Constitution would be, or what interpretation would be considered correct. There was ample evidence showing that registrars were using this test to deprive Negro citizens of their right to vote.

QUESTION: Does this literacy test violate the 14th and 15th Amendments?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "As the evidence showed, colored people, even some with the most advanced education and scholarship, were declared by voting registrars with less education to have an unsatisfactory understanding of the constitution of Louisiana or of the United States. This is not a test but a trap." ... "The cherished right of people in a country like ours to vote cannot be obliterated by the use of laws like this, which leave the voting fate of a citizen to the passing whim or impulse of an individual registrar."

Bilingual Ballots Promote Assimilation

In the mid-'70s the Voting Rights Act was extended into the Southwest and bilingual ballots were included in the provisions of the original Act. Prior to the extension of this Act in the Southwest, Hispanics had some 1,500 elected officials, according to Harry Pachon, executive director of the National Association of Latin Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO). In a little over 10 years since this Act was passed, there has been a 100 percent increase in Hispanic elected officials. If the sponsors of English Only simply want language minorities to succeed in assimilating, why do they want to destroy a bill that has brought record numbers of Hispanics into the fold?

Richard T. Castro, *In These Times*, February 18/24, 1987

South Carolina v. Katzenbach (1965) 383 U.S. 301

FACTS: South Carolina challenged the Voting Rights Act of 1965 on the ground that it exceeded the powers of Congress and encroached on an area reserved to the States.

QUESTION: Does Congress have authority to interfere with state restrictions on voting?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "As against the reserved powers of the States, Congress may use any rational means to effectuate the constitutional prohibition of racial discrimination in voting." ... "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional." This case upheld all provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Katzenbach v. Morgan (1966) 384 U.S. 641

FACTS: Section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 provides that no person who has completed the 6th grade in a public or private school in Puerto Rico shall be denied the right to vote because of his inability to read or write English. The Attorney General of the State of New York brought suit to challenge the constitutionality of Section 4(e) because it prohibits enforcement of the New York English literacy test law.

QUESTION: Can Congress enforce the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment through legislation which overrides state legislation, without a judicial determination that the state legislation is forbidden by the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "Correctly viewed, Section 5 (of the 14th Amendment) is a positive grant of legislative power authorizing Congress to exercise its discretion in determining whether and what legislation is needed to secure the guarantees of the 14th Amendment." ... "There can be no doubt that Section 4(e) (of the Voting Rights Act of 1965) may be regarded as an enactment to enforce the Equal Protection Clause."

The Case Against Bilingual Ballots

Opponents of federally mandated voting in foreign languages want [it] repealed. The case for repeal is based on the following considerations:

- English ballots do not prohibit anyone from voting. Anyone who needs help can bring an interpreter into the voting booth.
- Bilingual ballots are deeply resented by millions of earlier immigrants who had to learn English in order to participate in the political process.
- Bilingual ballots are highly symbolic of the official recognition won by other languages, in competition with English.
- Bilingual ballots dissolve the traditional bond between English and citizenship.
- Bilingual ballots are unnecessary, as virtually all applicants for U.S. citizenship must pass an examination demonstrating knowledge of simple English.
- Bilingual ballots invite abuse. A check of San Francisco bilingual ballot users in 1981 disclosed that 20% were not U.S. citizens.
- Bilingual ballots are discriminatory. Only selected languages are targeted for special treatment under the law.
- Bilingual ballots are costly. While the cost of English ballots is usually less than $2.00 per registered voter, non-English ballots range from $6.00 upward. The cost of foreign language ballots to California taxpayers, for instance, is $1.3 million annually.

U.S. English, fact sheet, "Bilingual Voting Ballots," April 1987.

Cardona v. Power (1966) 384 U.S. 672

FACTS: A New York law denied the vote to a person who was not literate in English, but who was literate in Spanish. A woman who had completed the 6th grade in Puerto Rico and was literate in Spanish did not qualify to vote under New York's literacy test law.

QUESTION: Can the state require English literacy to vote?

DECISION: Remanded to New York Court of Appeals.

REASON: Congress is empowered to ban all literacy tests by finding such tests are inherently discriminatory. Federal laws supersede state, even if the purpose of the state law is nondiscriminatory. In light of the decision in Katzenbach v. Morgan (decided the same day), the case was remanded (sent back) to the New York court for a new hearing.

Oregon v. Mitchell (1970) 400 U.S. 112

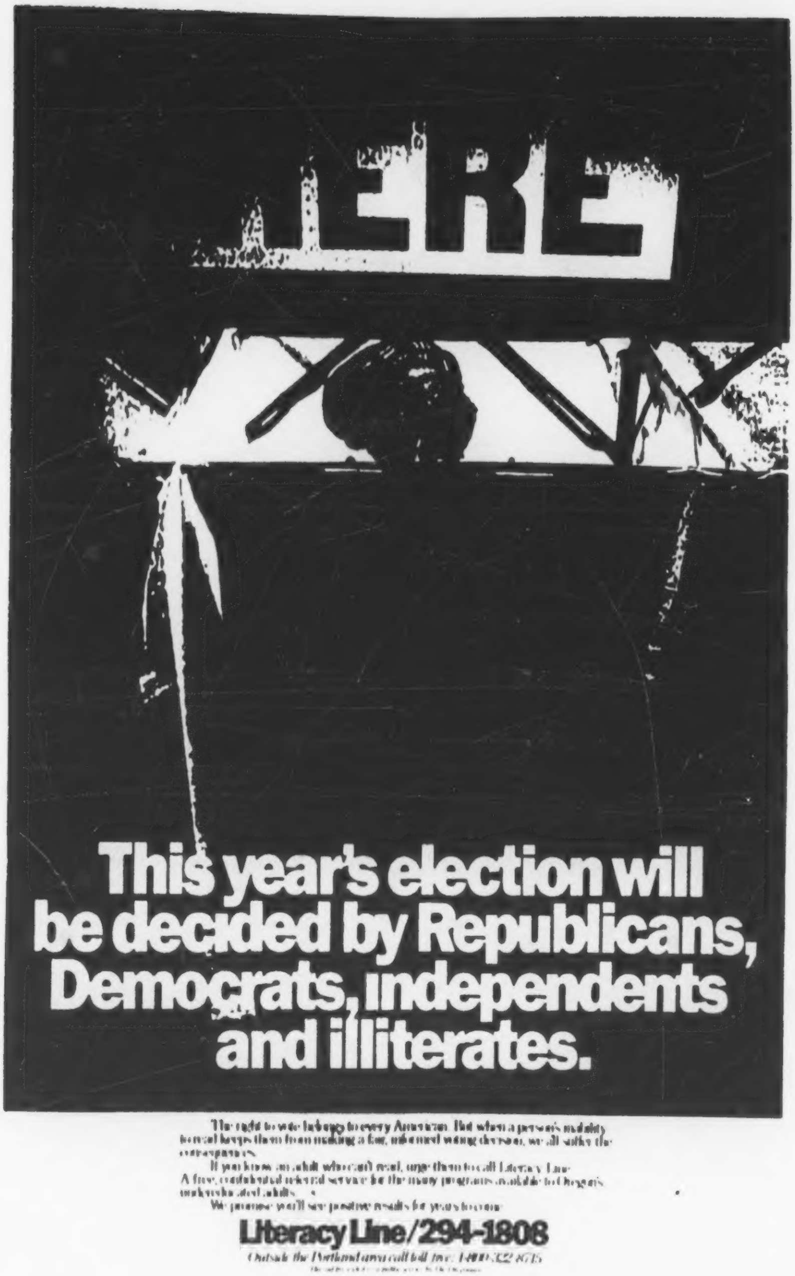
FACTS: The states of Oregon, Arizona, Texas and Idaho resisted compliance with the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970. The Amendments reduced the minimum age of voters in state and federal elections to eighteen, prohibited literacy tests in both state and federal elections, and prohibited use of residency requirements to disqualify voters in presidential and vice presidential elections.

QUESTION: Do the Voting Rights Act Amendments limit election powers reserved to the States?

DECISION: Yes, when applied to state and local elections.

REASON: Congress has ultimate power over congressional and presidential elections under Article I, Section 4 and Article II, Section 1. The 14th and 15th Amendments allow Congress to ban literacy tests. Otherwise, states have the power to regulate the election of their own officials.

(Note: The 26th Amendment superseded this decision in 1971 allowing 18-year-olds to vote in all elections.)



This year's election will be decided by Republicans, Democrats, independents and illiterates.

The right to vote belongs to every American. But when a person's inability to read keeps them from making a fair, informed voting decision, we all suffer the consequences.

If you know an adult who can't read, urge them to call Literacy Line. A free, confidential referral service for the many programs available to Oregon's undereducated adults.

We promise you'll see positive results for years to come.

Literacy Line/294-1808

Outside the Portland area call toll free: 1-800-322-8715

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III. THE WHITE PRIMARY CASES

Nixon v. Herndon (1927) 273 U.S. 536

FACTS: A Texas statute denied persons of colored descent to vote in the Democratic Party primary elections. Nixon was refused permission to vote and challenged the law.

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QUESTION: Is this law in violation of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: The 14th Amendment denies to states the power to withhold equal protection of the laws, regardless of color. "It seems hard for us to imagine a more direct and obvious infringement of the 14th Amendment."

Nixon v. Condon (1932) 286 U.S. 73

FACTS: After the white primary law in Texas was overruled in Nixon v. Herndon, the Texas legislature passed a new law allowing the state executive committee to decide who can vote in the primaries. The Democratic Party executive committee adopted a resolution allowing only white persons to vote in the Democratic primary. Nixon was thus again denied the right to vote.

QUESTION: Does the new Texas law violate the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: The Court determined that the new law was again state action, not private action, and thus forbidden by the 14th Amendment. "The test is not whether the members of the Executive Committee are the representatives of the State in the strict sense in which an agent is the representative of his principal. The test is whether they are to be classified as representatives of the State to such an extent and in such a sense that the great restraints of the Constitution set limits on their action."

Grovey v. Townsend (1935) 295 U.S. 45

FACTS: The statute in Nixon v. Condon was amended to allow the parties' state conventions to set qualifications for voting in the primary elections. The Democratic Party passed the following resolution at its state convention: "Be it resolved that all white citizens of the State of Texas who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of the state shall be eligible to membership in the Democratic Party and, as such, entitled to participate in its deliberations." Grovey was denied an absentee ballot in the Democratic primary because he was black. Grovey filed suit.

QUESTION: Can a political party deny membership because of race?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: Since membership in a political party is voluntary, this action is a private one, not a state action, and is not limited by the 14th Amendment. Denial of the vote in the general election would be considered in violation of the 14th Amendment.

Smith v. Allwright (1944) 321 U.S. 649

FACTS: Lonnie Smith was refused a ballot in the Texas Democratic primary election on the basis of the same resolution upheld in Grovey v. Townsend. Smith met all other voter qualifications except that of race and color.

QUESTION: Is the action of the Democratic Party convention a state action and thus in violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments?

DECISION: Yes. (overruled Grovey v. Townsend)

REASON: Article I, Section 4 of the Constitution authorized Congress to regulate primary as well as general elections. "The recognition of the place of the primary in the electoral scheme makes clear that state delegation to a party of the power to fix the qualifications of primary elections is delegation of a state function that may make the party's action the action of the state." The Court concluded, "When primaries become a part of the machinery for choosing officials ... the same tests ... should be applied to the primary as are applied to the general election. If the state requires a certain electoral procedure, ... it endorses, adopts and enforces the discrimination against Negroes practiced by a party entrusted by Texas law with the determination of the qualifications of participants in the primary. This is state action within the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment."

NOTE: Compare the policies of the Democratic Party in Texas in 1935 with those of the State of Oregon in 1989. (From 1989 Party Bylaws)

Article III - Affirmative Action

The Democratic Party of Oregon shall ensure the widest and fairest representation of its members in its organization and activities. All rules shall be adopted by procedures that assure the fair and open participation of all interested people. Discrimination in the conduct of Party affairs on the basis of sex, race, age, religion, economic status, or ethnic origin shall be prohibited. All Party meetings shall be open to the public.

IV. OTHER DISCRIMINATION CASES

Bullock v. Carter (1972) 405 U.S. 134

FACTS: Candidates for local office in the Texas Democratic primary election were required to pay fees as high as $8,900 to have their names placed on the primary ballot. Citizens filed suit claiming that they were denied the right to run for political office because they were unable to pay the fees. Texas argued that the fees were necessary to regulate the primary ballot and to finance elections.

QUESTION: Do the high filing fees violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: Numerous qualified candidates are precluded from filing for office based on their ability to pay. While the State has an interest in placing only serious candidates on the ballot, this law eliminates legitimate candidates as well. There are other means of financing primary elections rather than placing this financial burden on the candidates.

Kusper v. Pontikes (1974) 414 U.S. 51

FACTS: An Illinois election law prohibited a person from voting in the primary election of a political party if he had voted in the primary of any other party within the preceding 23 months.

QUESTION: Does the Illinois law violate the right to free political association?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: The law locks the voter into his pre-existing party. The state's legitimate interest in preventing party "raiding" cannot justify the substantial restraint of the 23-month rule.

SEE ALSO: Rosario v. Rockefeller (1973) 410 U.S. 752, which upheld the constitutionality of a New York election law requiring voters to enroll in the party of their choice at least 30 days before the general election to vote in the next party primary election. The law was upheld as a permissible deterrent against primary election raiding by opposing party members and did not violate the citizens' constitutional rights.

Rogers v. Lodge (1982) 458 U.S. 613

FACTS: Burke County, Georgia elected its county commissioners "at-large," rather than by districts. No Negro had ever been elected to the board. Black citizens filed suit arguing that the at-large system diluted voting power of blacks.

QUESTION: Does the "at-large" election system for Burke County commissioners violate the 14th and 15th Amendment voting rights of black citizens?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: The Supreme Court agreed with the District Court and Court of Appeals decisions that there was overwhelming proof that the at-large system was being maintained for "invidious purposes." It ordered the county to be divided into districts for the purposes of electing county commissioners.

V. DISQUALIFICATION FOR COMMITTING CRIMES

McDonald v. Board of Election Commissioners (1969) 394 U.S. 802

FACTS: An Illinois statute granted absentee ballots to those absent from their county of residence, medically incapacitated, observing religious holidays, or serving as poll watchers in other precincts. Unsentenced inmates awaiting trial and charged with nonbailable offenses or unable to post bail challenged the law because they were not provided with absentee ballots and thus were denied their right to vote.

QUESTION: Does the Illinois law violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: No.

REASON: Illinois is not denying the inmates the right to vote, but the right to receive absentee ballots. Illinois' absentee ballot provisions are not drawn to discriminate on the basis of wealth or race.

Goosby v. Osser (1972, 1973) 408 U.S. 922, 209 U.S. 512

FACTS: Under the laws of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia prisons denied persons held in jail awaiting trial their right to vote. "They neither permit members of the class to leave prison to register and vote, nor provide facilities for the purpose at the prison, and ... they expressly prohibit persons 'confined in penal institutions' from voting by absentee ballot."

QUESTION: Does a state law denying the right to vote by a person held in jail awaiting trial violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: If a person has not yet been convicted of a crime, the law must pass a stricter test than if the person is already convicted.

O'Brien v. Skinner (1974) 414 U.S. 524

FACTS: Persons in jail in Monroe County, New York requested an opportunity to register and vote in the 1972 general elections. Some were awaiting trial; the rest were convicted of misdemeanors. Their requests were denied.

QUESTION: Do the New York laws denying these people the right to vote violate the 14th Amendment Equal Protection Clause?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: The state election statutes discriminated between categories of qualified voters in a wholly arbitrary way. "Indeed, those held in jail awaiting trial in a county other than their residence are also permitted to register by mail and vote by absentee ballot. Yet, persons confined for the same reason in the county of their residence are completely denied the ballot. The New York statutes, as construed, operate as a restriction which is 'so severe as itself to constitute an unconstitutionally onerous burden on the ... exercise of the franchise.'"

Richardson v. Ramirez (1974) 418 U.S. 24

FACTS: Three convicted felons who had completed their sentences and paroles argued that state laws denying ex-felons the right to vote violated the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment.

QUESTION: Does a California state law denying the right to vote to convicted felons conflict with the 14th Amendment Equal Protection Clause?

DECISION: No.

REASON: Section 2 of the 14th Amendment contains an exception to the Equal Protection Clause: representation is not to be reduced, except for participation in rebellion, or other crimes.

VI. RESIDENCE QUALIFICATIONS

Dunn v. Blumstein (1972) 405 U.S. 330

FACTS: The county registrar refused to register James Blumstein when Blumstein moved to Nashville, Tennessee, because Tennessee law required that persons must be residents of the state for one year and residents of the county for three months before they may register to vote.

QUESTION: Does the state residency law violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: The state did not demonstrate a "compelling governmental interest." While a waiting period may be necessary to prevent registration fraud, thirty days is enough. The Tennessee waiting period was too long. The state's argument that a waiting period is necessary so that new residents can become informed about local issues excludes too many people and imposes that requirement only on some people. The law also interfered with the right to travel.

Marston v. Lewis (1973) 410 U.S. 679

FACTS: Arizona's fifty day residency requirement for state and local elections was challenged. Arizona argued that its volunteer deputy registrar system produced mistakes which required time to correct and the late fall primary limited the time for corrections to be done.

QUESTION: Does the law violate the Equal Protection Clause?

DECISION: No.

REASON: The state's interest is within the bounds of a compelling governmental interest needed to limit equal protection under the law.

Burns v. Fortson (1973) 410 U.S. 686

FACTS: A similar Georgia cut-off provision required a fifty day registration period.

QUESTION: Does the Georgia law violate the Equal Protection Clause?

DECISION: No.

REASON: While it approaches the "outer constitutional limits in this area," the residency requirement is justified by a compelling governmental interest.

Holt Civic Club v. City of Tuscaloosa (1978) 439 U.S. 60

FACTS: Citizens in Holt, Alabama, a small unincorporated community within three miles of Tuscaloosa, filed suit claiming the right to vote in Tuscaloosa city elections. The Holt residents claimed that the state's "police jurisdiction" statutes extend police, sanitary, and business licensing power by Tuscaloosa over the residents of Holt, without permitting Holt residents to vote in Tuscaloosa municipal elections.

QUESTION: Do Alabama's police jurisdiction statutes violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: No.

REASON: A government unit may legitimately restrict the right to participate in its political processes to those who reside within its borders.

OREGON LAW

The Oregon Constitution now requires a 20-day residency for voter registration. This law was passed by an initiative measure in 1986, amending the Oregon Constitution. Prior to the 1986 amendment, there was no residency requirement; Oregon voters could register any time up to and including election day.

The initiative was motivated by an influx of "Rajneeshees" (followers of the Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh) in 1984. These people "bused thousands of homeless people into their now defunct Oregon commune in what many Oregonians viewed as a move to win political control of Wasco County." (Statesman Journal, July 14, 1989, p. 4D)

The following case was heard in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, not the U.S. Supreme Court. It should, however, be of interest to Oregon voters.

Barilla v. Ervin (1989) D.C. No. CU-87-295-JU

FACTS: Rocky Barilla and three others filed suit against the election officers in Multnomah, Marion, and Lane counties, and against the Oregon Secretary of State Barbara Roberts, arguing that Oregon's 20-day voter registration deadline denied them of their right to vote and right to travel. The District Court granted summary judgment to the defendants. The case was appealed to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit.

QUESTION: Does Oregon's 20-day voter registration cut-off violate the Equal Protection and Due Process clauses of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: No.

REASON: "Registration cut-offs of even more than 20 days have been repeatedly upheld against similar challenges."

NOTE: Secretary of State Roberts had opposed the initiative measure.

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FOR PUBLICATION

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE NINTH CIRCUIT

Frank "Rocky" Barilla; Lise Bryant Glancy; Cynthia Suzanne Knight; and Ragene Ann Fore,
Plaintiffs-Appellants,

v.

Vicki Ervin, Director of Elections for Multnomah County; Alan Davidson, Marion County Clerk; David Spriggs, Lane County Clerk; and Barbara Roberts, Secretary of State for the State of Oregon,
Defendants-Appellees.

No. 87-4298
D.C. No.
CV-87-295-JU
OPINION

Appeal from the United States District Court
for the District of Oregon
Malcolm F. Marsh, District Judge, Presiding

Argued and Submitted
January 12, 1989—Portland, Oregon

Filed July 13, 1989

Before: Mary M. Schroeder, Cecil F. Poole and
Dorothy W. Nelson, Circuit Judges.

Opinion by Judge Nelson

SUMMARY

Elections/Constitutional Law

Affirming in part and vacating and remanding in part, the court held that Oregon's 20-day voter registration cutoff does not unconstitutionally burden the right to vote or the right to travel.

Four Oregon voters challenged Oregon's 1986 voter passed initiative amending the state constitution and setting a 20-day voter registration cutoff. In one way or another, each of the four Oregon voters did not vote because they violated the 20-day registration cutoff. They sued alleging that the 20-day registration cut-off violated the equal protection and due process clauses of the fourteenth amendment and that defendants-appellees' refusal to permit the plaintiffs-appellants to vote violated 42 U.S.C. 1983. Appellants' motion for a preliminary injunction was denied. The district court accepted Magistrate George Juba's recommendation that plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment be denied and defendants' motion for summary judgment be granted.

[1] Appellees' claim of mootness is based on two arguments: that the election had passed and plaintiffs are registered to vote, and that new amendments to the Oregon election laws have made it unlikely that the claims asserted will recur. Therefore, they argued, this case does not fall within the "capable of repetition, yet evading review" mootness exception. **[2]** Since the election had passed and the plaintiffs had registered, the critical issue was whether this case fell within the exception. To meet the requirements in cases that have not been certified as class actions, "(1) the challenged action must be in its duration too short to be fully litigated prior to its cessation or expiration, and (2) there must be a reasonable expectation that the same complaining party would be subjected to the same action again." **[3]** The court found the first criterion satisfied since the district court itself did not enter judgment until several months after the election took place. The key issue then became whether there was a reasonable expectation that these claims would arise again with respect to these plaintiffs. The Supreme Court has stated that in order to satisfy the "capable of repetition" test, plaintiffs need only show that it is reasonable to expect that they will engage in conduct that will once again give rise to the assertedly moot dispute. They need not show that there is a demonstrated probability that the dispute will recur. **[4]** The claim asserted by plaintiff Lise Glancy was incapable of repetition under current Oregon law which now allows persons who change addresses within a county within 40 days prior to election to vote without reregistering. **[5]** As to the remaining plaintiffs, the dispute had not been mooted by the changes in Oregon's election laws. **[6]** Also, appellees' argument that plaintiffs could only become deregistered by their own willful or negligent acts supported rather than defeated a finding of no mootness. Such argument is inconsistent with precedent. Only Glancy's claim was moot. **[7]** As to plaintiffs' assertion that Oregon's 20-day registration cut-off unconstitutionally burdens the right to vote, registration cut-offs of even more than 20 days have been repeatedly upheld against similar challenges. **[8]** Appellants further contended that strict scrutiny is the appropriate standard of review for evaluating registration cutoffs and that appellees did not make the required strong showing of necessity. **[9]** It is, however, far from clear that strict scrutiny should be applied across the board to registration cutoffs. **[10]** Yet, however the standard is characterized, the appellees have made a showing of necessity comparable to that found sufficient by the Supreme Court. Under this test, Oregon's 20-day cutoff is undeniably necessary since the uncontroverted evidence is that the mail verification of addresses cannot reasonably be conducted in less time. Summary judgment for the defendants was therefore appropriate and affirmed by the court. **[11]** The court found an alternative ground of decision for affirming the district court's granting summary judgment to the appellees. This alternative ground was based upon the Supreme Court's applying the rational basis test in upholding a challenged New York election law.

COUNSEL

Thomas A. Balmer, Portland, Oregon, for the plaintiffs-appellants Frank "Rocky" Barilla, Lise Bryant Glancy, Cynthia Suzanne Knight, and Ragene Ann Fore.

Robert M. Atkinson, Assistant Attorney General, Salem, Oregon, for the defendant-appellee Barbara Roberts.

Jane Ellen Stonecipher, Assistant Marion County Counsel, Salem, Oregon, for the defendants-appellees Vicki Ervin, Alan Davidson, and David Spriggs.

OPINION

NELSON, Circuit Judge:

Four Oregon voters brought this action challenging Oregon's 20-day registration cutoff on the grounds that it unconstitutionally burdens the right to vote and the right to travel. The district court granted summary judgment to the defendants. The plaintiffs have appealed to this court, and the defendants, citing intervening events, have sought to dismiss the appeal as moot. We affirm the district court's judgment as to plaintiffs Barilla, Fore, and Knight, and defendants Ervin, Davidson, and Roberts. As to plaintiff Glancy and defendant Spriggs, we vacate the district court's judgment and remand with instructions to dismiss the complaint as moot.

FACTUAL AND PROCEDURAL BACKGROUND

From 1975 until 1985, Oregon law permitted voters to register in person at any time up to and including election day.

In 1985, the legislature passed a statute requiring voters to register no later than the day before election day; in addition, voters could register by mail no later than 12 days before election day. 1985 Or. Laws ch. 833, § 1. The legislature also required proof of residency for any voter registering less than 12 days before an election. *Id.* Defendant Secretary of State Roberts testified that these changes resulted both from the desire to avoid the administrative inconveniences associated with registering voters on election day and from the public concern with the integrity of the registration system that arose in connection with the registration of large numbers of the followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh. The legislature considered, but did not pass, a proposed 20-day cutoff for voter registration.

In 1986, the proposed 20-day cutoff was placed on the ballot as an initiative amending the state constitution. The proposed initiative was supported by a number of county clerks, but was opposed by defendant Roberts. The initiative passed by a considerable majority. The effect of the proposition was to amend Art. II, § 2 of the Oregon Constitution to read: "Every citizen of the United States is entitled to vote in all elections not otherwise provided for by this constitution if such citizen . . . [i]s registered not less than 20 calendar days immediately preceding any election in the manner provided by law."

On March 14, 1987, plaintiff Lise Bryant Glancy moved from one address in Lane County to a new address in the same county. On March 20, 1987, she appeared personally at the Lane County elections office in order to reregister. However, she did not vote in the March 31, 1987 election because it was her understanding that she was not eligible to do so because of the 20-day cutoff.

During the last week of February 1987, plaintiff Frank "Rocky" Barilla, at the time a member of the Oregon state legislature, moved from one address within Marion County to a new address in the same county. On March 16, 1987, he appeared personally at the Marion County Clerk's Office of Elections in order to reregister. At that time, he requested an absentee ballot for the March 31 election. Defendant Davidson denied Barilla's request to vote at either the old address or the new address, citing the 20-day registration cutoff.

In approximately November of 1986, plaintiff Ragene Ann Fore moved from one address in Marion County to another address within the same county. Fore knew that she would have to reregister, and eventually she obtained a reregistration form and mailed it in. However, the form was received on March 11, 1987, one day after the registration cutoff. Fore stated that she was unaware of the 20-day registration deadline. She did not vote in the March 31 election because it was her understanding that she was ineligible to do so.

Plaintiff Cynthia Suzanne Knight had never previously been registered to vote before sending in a registration form in March 1987. The form was received by the Multnomah County elections office on March 12, 1987, two days after the registration cutoff. She did not vote in the March 31, 1987 election because it was her understanding that she was ineligible to do so.

On March 20, 1987, plaintiffs filed this lawsuit, alleging that the 20-day registration cutoff violates the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that the defendants' refusal to permit the plaintiffs to vote violates 42 U.S.C. § 1983. They sought declaratory and injunctive relief, but did not assert a claim for damages. The action was brought individually, and not as a class action.

On March 26, 1987, a hearing was held concerning plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction. At the hearing, defendant Roberts testified that, although she thought that there was no problem of fraud under the old same-day registration system, there were administrative and economic benefits to the new system. She also testified that the problems associated with the followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh led to the public perception that the pre-1986 system created opportunities for fraud. Although she had opposed the 1986 initiative, she agreed that the restoration of public confidence was necessary and worthwhile.

Defendant Vicki Ervin, Director of Elections for Multnomah County, testified concerning the use of "memorandum cards" as a means of confirming accurate voter registration. Under the current system, cards are mailed out to all voters registered by the cutoff date. If the post office finds that the person listed on the card is not at the specified address, it will return the card as undeliverable. Ms. Ervin testified that it takes about 10 days for a card to be returned as undeliverable. Since the "poll books" listing registered voters are distributed to the precincts six to seven days before an election, this gives the elections office three days to check mail verifications.

Memorandum cards were also used as a registration check before the 1986 amendment was passed. The defendants presented evidence that, without the 20-day cutoff, a number of memorandum cards were returned as undeliverable only after the election had already taken place. Approximately 200 cards were returned in Multnomah County after the 1986 general election. In Marion County, 65 cards were returned as undeliverable after the 1986 election. Six separate contests in that election in Marion County were decided by fewer than 21 votes. Approximately 200 cards were returned in Lane County after the 1986 election. The defendants thus asserted that the 20-day cutoff was necessary to allow adequate time to conduct mail verifications.

Both defendant Ervin and defendant Davidson acknowledged that a returned memorandum card did not necessarily indicate fraud or that an ineligible voter had voted. Seizing upon this point, the plaintiffs argued that the defendants had presented no evidence that there was fraud under the old system. The defendants also pointed to the testimony of Daniel Burk, Director of Elections for Benton County, (a nonparty in this case) that there were no problems with fraud or administration under the old same-day system. Mr. Burk also testified that he thought the 20-day cutoff would reduce voter registration.

On March 27, 1987, the plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction was denied. On April 30, all defendants moved for summary judgment. The plaintiffs cross-moved for summary judgment on June 15. On August 6, 1987, Magistrate George Juba recommended that the plaintiffs' motion for summary judgment be denied and that the defendants' motions for summary judgment be granted. No objections to the magistrate's report were timely filed. The district court held that this failure relieved it of its obligation to give the record *de novo* review. Finding no error, the district court adopted the findings and recommendations of the magistrate on September 25, 1987. Judgment dismissing the complaint was formally entered on September 29, 1987. A timely notice of appeal was filed on October 26, 1987.

STANDARD OF REVIEW

The district court incorrectly concluded that the failure to file timely objections to the magistrate's report relieved it of its obligation to give the record *de novo* review. In the Ninth Circuit, such a failure to file objections only relieves the trial court of its burden to give *de novo* review to factual findings; conclusions of law must still be reviewed *de novo*. *Britt v. Simi Valley Unified School Dist.*, 708 F.2d 452, 454 (9th Cir. 1983). *Britt* also held that failure to file objections does not bar the parties from appealing the district court's conclusions of law. *Id.* at 454-55. Because a motion for summary judgment raises a purely legal issue, *see United States v. One 1980 Mercedes Benz 500 SE*, 772 F.2d 602, 604 (9th Cir. 1985), *de novo* appellate review of the district court's order in this case has not been waived by the failure to file objections to the magistrate's report.

DISCUSSION

A. *Mootness.*

[1] The issue of mootness has been raised by the appellees both in their briefs and in a separate motion to dismiss this appeal. Appellees' claim of mootness is based on two arguments. First, appellees point out that the March 31, 1987 election has passed, and the plaintiffs are registered to vote. Second, appellees argue that new amendments to the Oregon election laws have made it unlikely that the claims asserted below will recur, and that therefore this case does not fall within the narrow exception for controversies that are "capable of repetition, yet evading review." Specifically, the appellees point out that on September 27, 1987, certain amendments to the Oregon election laws became effective. In particular, provisions were enacted allowing all persons who move within 40 days prior to an election to vote without having to reregister. Or. Rev. Stat. §§ 247.320, 247.330. The appellants resist the claim of mootness on several grounds. First, the appellants argue that nothing has occurred since the entry of judgment on September 29, 1987 that would render this appeal moot. Second, they argue that the appellees may only raise the issue of mootness in their appeal briefs, not in a separate motion. Third, the appellants argue that this controversy is indeed "capable of repetition, yet evading review."

The appellants' first two arguments overlook the fact that mootness is a jurisdictional defect. Thus, this court may not decide the merits of a moot case, regardless of whether it was mooted before or after the entry of judgment. Furthermore, the fact that mootness is a jurisdictional defect means that it can be raised at any time either by the parties or by the court acting *sua sponte*. *See Taxpayers for Vincent v. City Council*, 682 F.2d 847, 849 n.1 (9th Cir. 1982), *rev'd on other grounds*, 466 U.S. 789 (1984). Therefore, this court cannot be divested of its obligation to consider the issue of mootness on the grounds that the timing or manner in which a party has raised the issue is somehow procedurally improper.[1]

[2] Since the March 31, 1987 election has passed and the plaintiffs have registered, the critical issue is whether this case falls within the exception for controversies that are "capable of repetition, yet evading review."[2] There are two requirements for this exception in cases that have not been certified as class actions: "(1) the challenged action [must be] in its duration too short to be fully litigated prior to its cessation or expiration, and (2) there [must be] a reasonable expectation that the same complaining party would be subjected to the same action again." *Weinstein v. Bradford*, 423 U.S. 147, 149 (1975). *See also Murphy v. Hunt*, 455 U.S. 478, 482 (1982); *First Nat'l Bank v. Bellotti*, 435 U.S. 765, 774 (1978).

[3] The first criteria is clearly satisfied in this case: the district court itself did not enter judgment until several months after the March 31 election had taken place. The key issue is whether there is a "reasonable expectation" that these claims will arise again with respect to these plaintiffs.[3] In *Honig v. Doe*, 108 S. Ct. 592, 601-04 (1988), the Supreme Court stated that, in order to satisfy the "capable of repetition" test, the plaintiffs need only show that it is reasonable to expect that they will engage in conduct that will once again give rise to the assertedly moot dispute: they need not show that there is a "demonstrated probability" that the dispute will recur. In the court's words: "Our concern in [cases] involving potentially moot claims [has been] whether the controversy was *capable* of repetition and not . . . whether the claimant had demonstrated that a recurrence of the dispute was more probable than not." 108 S. Ct. at 602 n.6 (emphasis in original).

[4] Although the standard for the "capable of repetition" test is thus not a very demanding one, it is nonetheless clear that the claim asserted by plaintiff Glancy is incapable of repetition. Glancy challenged the 1986 Amendment on the grounds that it disenfranchised her as a result of her having changed addresses. It is clear, however, that under current Oregon law, Glancy would under similar circumstances now be entitled to vote. *See* Or. Rev. Stat. § 247.320 (allowing persons who change addresses within a county within 40 days prior to an election to vote without having to reregister); *see also id.* at § 247.300 (similar provisions for persons who move between counties). The statutory amendments have thus rendered Glancy's claim incapable of repetition. *See Hall v. Beals*, 396 U.S. 45, 48-49 (1969) (intervening statutory amendments rendered moot plaintiffs' challenge to Colorado's six-month residency requirement for voter registration).[4]

The appellants make three arguments in support of their contention that this case is not moot with respect to any of the plaintiffs. First, they argue that all of the plaintiffs would still be disenfranchised if they for some reason became deregistered or if they moved again but failed to obtain the special certificate of registration provided for in Or. Rev. Stat. § 247.320. While this may be so, this is simply a different situation from that which confronted Glancy below. She was disenfranchised, not by her negligent failure to invoke available procedures, but *solely* because she moved within the 20-day cutoff period.[5] The fact that Glancy may, at some point in the future, have some different sort of dispute with the Lane County Clerk does not save from mootness the particular claim she has asserted below.

Second, the appellants argue that, to the extent the statutory amendments seek to blunt the impact of the 1986 constitutional amendment, they violate the state constitution. This argument is without merit. The 1986 initiative merely amended the constitution to provide that a citizen is eligible to vote if he or she is registered "not less than 20 calendar days immediately preceding any election *in the manner provided by law*." Or. Const., Art. II, § 2 (emphasis added). Thus, nothing in the state constitution prohibits the legislature from providing that an already registered voter who changes addresses may nonetheless vote without having to reregister. Such a person is indisputably registered "in the manner provided by law."

Third, the appellants argue that the statutory amendments cannot render this case moot inasmuch as the legislature may later decide to repeal them. In support of this proposition, they cite *City of Mesquite v. Aladdin's Castle, Inc.*, 455 U.S. 283, 288-89 (1982), in which the Court held that a void-for-vagueness challenge to a city ordinance had not been mooted by the repeal of the offending language. In *Mesquite*, however, the city had expressly announced its intention to reenact the offending language if the case was dismissed as moot. 455 U.S. at 289 n.11; *see also id.* at 296 n.1 (White, J., concurring in part and dissenting in part). In the present case, there is no indication whatsoever that the Oregon legislature intends to repeal the statutory amendments. In this regard, this case is closer to *Hall v. Beals*, 396 U.S. 45, 48 (1969), in which the Court held that the plaintiffs' challenge to Colorado's six-month residency requirement for voter registration was mooted by the amendment of the offending law. *Cf. Princeton Univ. v. Schmid*, 455 U.S. 100, 103 (1982) (holding that because Princeton had repealed regulations that the New Jersey Supreme Court had decided violated the state constitution, Princeton could not appeal this decision on federal grounds: the dispute was moot).

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[1] Furthermore, appellants' argument that the issue of mootness may only be raised in the appeal briefs overlooks the fact that the appellees did in fact raise this issue in their briefs.

[2] The fact that the plaintiffs have brought suit solely on their own behalf and have only requested injunctive and declaratory relief ensures that their claims will be moot unless they can fit within this exception. *See Murphy v. Hunt*, 455 U.S. 478 (1982) (where plaintiff had neither sought damages nor sought to represent a class, case was mooted by the fact that injunctive relief would no longer provide any benefit to the plaintiff).

[3] In *Honig v. Doe*, 108 S. Ct. 592, 610-11 (1988) (Scalia, J., dissenting), Justice Scalia argued that the Court's prior cases had, in the area of election law, dispensed with this second "same-party requirement" entirely. However, examination of these cases reveals no such categorical exception to the usual mootness rules. First, many of the election law cases were *class actions*. *See, e.g.*, *Richardson v. Ramirez*, 418 U.S. 24 (1974); *Brown v. Chote*, 411 U.S. 452 (1973); *Rosario v. Rockefeller*, 410 U.S. 752 (1973); *Dunn v. Blumstein*, 405 U.S. 330 (1972); *McDonald v. Board of Election Comm'rs*, 394 U.S. 802 (1968). Under *Sosna v. Iowa*, 419 U.S. 393, 401-02 (1975), class actions are *not* subject to the requirement that the dispute be capable of repetition as to the named plaintiffs. Second, it seems clear that the remaining election law cases satisfied the "reasonable expectation" of repetition requirement, at least as it has been interpreted by the majority in *Honig*. *See, e.g.*, *Anderson v. Celebrezze*, 460 U.S. 780 (1983); *Storer v. Brown*, 415 U.S. 724 (1974); *Moore v. Olgilvie*, 394 U.S. 814 (1969). *See also Sosna*, 419 at 399 (noting that "the defendants in [*Moore*] could be expected again to act contrary to the rights asserted by the particular named plaintiffs involved"); *Speer v. City of Oregon*, 847 F.2d 310, 312 n.3 (6th Cir. 1988) (noting that the voters who were plaintiffs in *Storer* might again have been affected by the statute at issue). Indeed, it seems clear that Justice Scalia claims that a categorical exception exists for election cases only because the finding of no mootness in those cases could otherwise be justified only by reading the "reasonable expectation" of repetition requirement in the relatively lax fashion adopted by the *Honig* majority. *See Honig*, 108 S. Ct. at 610 (Scalia, J., dissenting).

[4] Similarly, these statutory amendments render irrelevant the Attorney General Opinion that the appellants seek to add to the record on appeal. Oregon Attorney General Opinion No. 6051 (Oct. 8, 1986) concludes that, under the law as it then existed, the proposed 1986 initiative would disenfranchise anyone who moved within 20 days prior to an election. This is *not* the current law, and the opinion is thus of no value to this appeal. Accordingly, the motion to supplement the record by adding the opinion is denied.

[5] Her situation thus contrasts with that of plaintiff Barilla. Although Barilla moved less that 40 days prior to the March 31, 1987 election and thus would, under comparable circumstances, be entitled to vote under Or. Rev. Stat. § 247.320, it is also true that he moved *before* the 20-day cutoff period began. Thus, Barilla was disenfranchised, not by his having moved, but by his willful or negligent failure to invoke available procedures. As set forth below, it seems reasonable, under *Honig*, to expect that Barilla may engage in similar conduct in the future.

It thus seems clear that the enactment of the amendments to Oregon's election laws has mooted the dispute between plaintiff Glancy and defendant Spriggs.[6] Accordingly, the judgment as to both of them is vacated, and the case is remanded to the district court with instructions to dismiss the complaint as moot with respect to these two parties.

[5] As to the remaining plaintiffs and defendants, the dispute has not been mooted by the changes in Oregon's election laws. Only plaintiff Barilla's claim would also have been cured by the amendments, but for reasons noted earlier, this does not render his claim moot. *See* note 5, *supra*. As for plaintiffs Knight and Fore, both were disenfranchised by their negligent failure to register on time. Had the statutory amendments been in force at the time, they would not have prevented either plaintiff from being disenfranchised. This is true because the amendments do not apply to persons (such as Knight) who are completely unregistered when the 20-day cutoff period begins nor do they apply to those (such as Fore) who move more than 40 days prior to an election. The claims of both Knight and Fore are thus capable of repetition. Furthermore, given that they have been negligent once, it seems reasonable to expect, under *Honig*, that they may be negligent again if they move or if their registration lapses.[7]

[6] The appellees argue that there is no reasonable expectation that the claims asserted below could recur inasmuch as these plaintiffs could only become deregistered by their own negligent or willful acts. There are several problems with this argument. First, the argument is simply a non sequitur in that it blurs the distinction between the mootness issue and the merits of this case. Plaintiffs Barilla, Fore, and Knight have already been disenfranchised once by their negligent or willful acts. Thus, the fact that this may recur supports, rather than defeats, a finding of *no* mootness. Second, the argument is inconsistent with precedent. In *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 125 (1973), the Court held that Jane Roe's challenge to Texas' abortion law had not been mooted by the termination of her pregnancy. As the Court acknowledged in *Honig*, it was reasonable "to assume that Jane Roe would again both have an unwanted pregnancy and wish to exercise her right to abortion." 108 S. Ct. at 602 n.6. Of course, any subsequent pregnancy and abortion by Jane Roe would very possibly be the result of a "willful or negligent" action on her part. Nonetheless, this fact was not sufficient to render her claim incapable of repetition and therefore moot. Accordingly, the claims of Barilla, Knight, and Fore are "capable of repetition, yet evading review." Therefore, they are not moot.

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[6] Because Glancy is the only one of the four plaintiffs who lives in Lane County, she is the only one who has standing to sue defendant Spriggs. Accordingly, the dismissal of Glancy as a plaintiff requires the dismissal of Spriggs as a defendant.

[7] It is thus unnecessary to note that plaintiff Knight has recently moved and failed to reregister. Under *Honig*, the plaintiffs do not have to demonstrate that the dispute *will* recur. Accordingly, the motion to supplement the record on appeal to include Knight's affidavit attesting to her subsequent deregistration is denied. Only in extraordinary situations should the record on appeal be supplemented with material that was not before the district court. *See Ross v. Kemp*, 785 F.2d 1467, 1474 (11th Cir. 1986). Such extraordinary circumstances are not present here.

B. *Appellants' Constitutional Claims.*

[7] The plaintiffs assert that Oregon's 20-day registration cutoff unconstitutionally burdens the right to vote. We note, however, that courts have repeatedly upheld, against similar challenges, registration cutoffs of even more than 20 days. *See Burns v. Fortson*, 410 U.S. 686, 687 (1973) (upholding Georgia's 50-day registration cutoff);[8] *Marston v. Lewis*, 410 U.S. 679, 681 (1973) (upholding Arizona's 50-day registration cutoff); *Dunn v. Blumstein*, 405 U.S. 330, 348-49 (1972) (striking down Tennessee's three-month residency requirement, but discussing with approval Tennessee's requirement of registration at least 30 days before an election); *Key v. Board of Voter Registration*, 622 F.2d 88, 90 (4th Cir.) (upholding South Carolina's 30-day registration cutoff), *cert. denied*, 449 U.S. 877 (1980).

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[8] The Court in *Burns*, however, indicated that a 50-day registration requirement "approaches the outer constitutional limits in this area." 410 U.S. at 687.

[8] Mindful of these precedents, the appellants nonetheless argue that *Burns* and *Marston* fully support their case. They contend that these cases established that strict scrutiny is the appropriate standard of review for evaluating registration cutoffs, and they further argue that the appellees in the present case did not make the type of "strong" showing of necessity that was made in *Burns* and *Marston*.

Although commentators have generally viewed *Burns* and *Marston* as strict scrutiny cases, *see* L. Tribe, *American Constitutional Law* 1452 n.4 (2d ed. 1988); Sager, *Some Observations about Race, Sex, and Equal Protection*, 59 Tul. L. Rev. 928, 939-41 & n.16 (1985); Comment, *Selecting the Appropriate Standard of Review for Equal Protection Challenges to Legislation Concerning Subsistence Benefits*, 53 U. Cin. L. Rev. 587, 588 (1984),[9] it is not altogether clear that this is a proper characterization of the two cases. The opinions in both cases are brief *per curiams* that do not specify the standard of review being applied. In *Marston*, the Court upheld Arizona's 50-day registration cutoff on the grounds that the evidence presented to the district court demonstrated that the cutoff was "necessary to permit preparation of accurate voting lists." 410 U.S. at 681. However, there is nothing in *Marston* other than this use of the word "necessary" to suggest that heightened scrutiny was being applied. No mention was made of a "compelling" state interest or least restrictive means analysis, both essential elements of strict scrutiny. *See Dunn*, 405 U.S. at 342. Indeed, as the dissent in *Marston* quite rightly points out, the Court was almost surely *not* requiring the least restrictive means in that it upheld the 50-day cutoff despite the fact that many of the problems necessitating such a cutoff were the result of the inefficient manner in which registration was conducted. *See Marston*, 405 U.S. at 682-83 (Marshall, J., dissenting).[10]

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[9] At least one court has also viewed *Burns* and *Marston* as applying strict scrutiny. *See Auerbach v. Rettaliata*, 765 F.2d 350, 354 (2d Cir. 1985).

[9] Similarly, in *Burns*, the Court upheld Georgia's 50-day cutoff in a 1½ page *per curiam* that, like *Marston*, did little more than state that Georgia had shown the cutoff to be "necessary" to keep voter lists accurate. 410 U.S. at 687. Furthermore, as in *Marston*, the dissent in *Burns* makes it quite clear that the Court was not applying least restrictive means analysis. *See* 410 U.S. at 688-89 (Marshall, J., dissenting) (noting that it was possible to increase the size and efficiency of the registrar's office, so as to permit a shorter cutoff period). Therefore, it is far from clear that *Marston* and *Burns* stand for the proposition that strict scrutiny should be applied across the board to registration cutoffs.[11]

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[10] The relatively lax manner in which the Court reviewed the cutoffs in *Burns* and *Marston* has not been overlooked by commentators. Thus, while Professor Sager views these cases as applying "strict scrutiny," he also notes that Georgia's and Arizona's showing of "necessity" seemed to fall far short of what one would ordinarily think would be required under this rigorous standard of review:

> This hardly seems the sort of showing that one would imagine as comprising the extraordinary justification for a constitutional wrong. Surely, fewer days could have sufficed if the states treated the prompt registration of voters as a sufficiently urgent objective to warrant the deflection of greater resources to a registration scheme that aimed towards dispatch.

Sager, *Some Observations about Race, Sex, and Equal Protection*, 59 Tul. L. Rev. 928, 940-41 (1985).

[11] Nor does *Dunn v. Blumstein*, 405 U.S. 330 (1972), support appellant's claim that strict scrutiny is the appropriate standard of review. *Dunn* involved a lengthy residency requirement that effectively applied only to individuals who recently arrived in the state. Indeed, the *Dunn* Court emphasized that strict scrutiny was appropriate inasmuch as the Tennessee statute impinged upon the fundamental right to travel; the statute distributed the franchise among Tennessee residents on the basis of whether they had recently moved from one jurisdiction to another. *Id.* at 338-42. By contrast, Oregon's brief registration cutoff period applies evenhandedly to all unregistered Oregonians, whether new arrivals or long-time residents.

[10] However, we need not resolve the question as to how properly to characterize the standard of review applied in *Burns* and *Marston*. We conclude that, however the standard is characterized, the appellees in this case have made a showing of necessity that is comparable to that found sufficient by the Supreme Court in *Burns* and *Marston*. In both of these cases, the Court substantially deferred to the manner in which Georgia and Arizona chose to structure their elections offices and to verify the accuracy of registrations, concluding only that the 50-day cutoffs in both states were "necessary" to give the state sufficient time to verify lists.[12] That is, the Court only asked whether the state had allotted itself more time than was necessary to complete these tasks; it did not ask whether *other tasks* might have served the state's goals equally well in less time. Under this test, Oregon's 20-day cutoff is undeniably "necessary"; the uncontroverted evidence is that the mail verification of addresses cannot reasonably be conducted in less time.[13] Summary judgment for the defendants was therefore appropriate.

The appellants make a number of arguments in an attempt to show that *Burns* and *Marston* are distinguishable from this case. First, they argue that the defendants in this case failed to produce evidence of actual fraud under Oregon's prior system of same-day registration. However, the issue of whether there was actual fraud under the old system is really beside the point. The appellees correctly note that, under *Munro v. Socialist Workers Party*, 479 U.S. 189 (1986), Oregon is not required to wait until fraud becomes rampant before taking remedial action; the state has a sufficient interest in *preventing* future fraud. It seems clear that, regardless of whether there was fraud under the old system, the current system eliminates previously-existing *opportunities* for error or fraud.

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[12] We note, however, that nothing in *Burns* or *Marston* suggests that complete deference is appropriate. Indeed, the Court's comment that a "50-day registration period approaches the outer constitutional limits in this area," *Burns*, 410 U.S. at 687, suggests that the Court would not have been willing to accept an argument that a given state's unreasonably inefficient registration system required a lengthy registration cutoff period.

[13] Indeed, we note that, even under standard strict scrutiny analysis, there are problems with appellants' position. While the appellants point to a number of alternatives that are less restrictive than the 20-day cutoff, they have proferred no evidence suggesting that these alternatives would be as effective in eliminating opportunities for fraud.

Second, the appellants argue that, unlike *Burns* and *Marston*, the registration cutoff at issue in this case is not the product of a "legislative judgment." They point out that Oregon's 20-day cutoff was enacted directly by the voters only after it had been rejected by the Oregon legislature in favor of a one-day cutoff. Thus, the appellants argue that, contrary to *Burns* and *Marston*, the Oregon legislature's judgment was that a 20-day cutoff was *not* necessary, and that therefore the cutoff is not justified. We reject this argument. In reviewing the validity of a statute, courts have consistently applied the same constitutional standards without regard to whether the statute was enacted by the legislature or directly by the people. *Citizens Against Rent Control v. City of Berkeley*, 454 U.S. 290, 295 (1981); *Seattle School Dist. No. 1 v. State of Washington*, 473 F. Supp. 996, 1011-12 (W.D. Wash. 1979), *aff'd in part, rev'd in part on other grounds*, 633 F.2d 1338 (9th Cir. 1980), *aff'd*, 458 U.S. 457 (1982); *Massachusetts Teachers Ass'n v. Secretary of the Commonwealth*, 384 Mass. 209, 424 N.E.2d 469, 487 (1981); *see generally* 42 Am. Jur. 2d *Initiative and Referendum* § 55 (1969).

[11] The appellants' attempts to distinguish *Burns* and *Marston* are thus unavailing. Accordingly, we conclude that the district court properly entered summary judgment for the appellees. However, we also note that, even if we did not find these cases controlling, there is an alternative ground of decision that requires affirmance of the district court in this case. This alternative ground is based upon the Supreme Court's decision in *Rosario v. Rockefeller*, 410 U.S. 752 (1973). *Rosario* was a class action challenging a New York statute that required voters who wished to vote in a party's primary to enroll in that party no later than 30 days prior to the preceding *general* election. Since New York held its presidential primary in June and its nonpresidential primary in September, the statue had the effect of requiring voters to register eight months in advance for a presidential primary, and eleven months in advance for a nonpresidential primary. The Court began its analysis by noting that the entire plaintiff class consisted of people who *could* have registered in time for the primary, but who for one reason or another failed to do so. 410 U.S. at 755 & n.4. The Court held that this fact served to distinguish *Rosario* from those cases, such as *Dunn*, in which the Court had applied strict scrutiny. The Court stated that, in the latter cases, "the State [had] totally denied the electoral franchise to a particular class of residents, and there was no way in which the members of that class could have made themselves eligible to vote." *Id.* at 757. By contrast, the New York statute "did not absolutely disenfranchise the class to which petitioners belong—newly registered voters who were eligible to enroll in a party before the previous general election." *Id.* Thus, the Court concluded, to the extent that the plaintiffs' "plight can be characterized as disenfranchisement at all, it was not caused by [the statute], but by their own failure to take timely steps to effect their enrollment." *Id.* at 758. The New York statute did not constitute a ban on their ability to participate in the primary, "but merely a time limitation on when they had to act" in order to do so. *Id.* Therefore, the only question was whether this time limitation was so severe as to constitute an unconstitutional burden on the franchise. *Id.* at 760. In answering this question, the Court applied the rational basis test and upheld the statute.

Applying the principles of *Rosario* to the present case, we conclude that summary judgment was properly entered for the defendants. Plaintiffs Barilla, Fore, and Knight were all disenfranchised by their willful or negligent failure to register on time. Therefore, as applied to them, the 1986 initiative does not "totally den[y] [the plaintiffs] the opportunity to vote," as was true in *Dunn*. 405 U.S. at 335; *see also McDonald v. Board of Election Comm'rs*, 394 U.S. 802, 806 (1968) (strict scrutiny not required where plaintiffs failed to show either a suspect classification or that they were "absolutely prohibited from voting by the State."). Like the plaintiffs in *Rosario*, the three appellants in this case were not "absolutely disenfranchise[d]" by the challenged provision. 410 U.S. at 757. They could have registered in time for the March 31, 1987 election, but they failed to do so. What is at issue here is not a "ban" on the plaintiffs' right to vote, but rather, a "time limitation" on when the plaintiffs had to act in order to be able to vote. *Rosario*, 410 U.S. at 758. Accordingly, the burden imposed on these plaintiffs' right to vote is not "substantial" enough to require strict scrutiny. *See Socialist Workers Party v. Eu*, 591 F.2d 1252, 1260 (9th Cir. 1978), *cert. denied*, 441 U.S. 946 (1979); *see also Bullock v. Carter*, 405 U.S. 134, 143 (1972) ("not every limitation or incidental burden on the exercise of voting rights is subject to a stringent standard of review"). The Oregon registration cutoff easily passes the rational basis test. The evidence proffered by the defendants concerning the time required to conduct mail verification of addresses establishes beyond dispute that the 20-day cutoff is rationally related to the legitimate state goals of preventing fraud and maintaining the accuracy of the voting lists.

The appellants, however, seek to distinguish *Rosario* and similar cases on the ground that those cases involved "access to the ballot" or associational rights, rather than the right to vote. This argument is without merit. First, the cases simply do not line up on the basis of whether they involve ballot access or voting rights. For example, the appellants overlook the fact that *McDonald* was a voting rights case, and yet the Court applied the rational basis test. In addition, the appellants incorrectly state that *Bullock*, a ballot access case, applied rationality review. In fact, the Court in *Bullock* expressly applied heightened scrutiny. *See* 405 U.S. at 144. *See also Anderson v. Celebrezze*, 460 U.S. 780 (1983) (applying heightened scrutiny in a ballot access case where the challenged restrictions were held to impose a heavy burden on associational and voting rights). Rather, as this court noted in *Eu*, the critical distinction is whether the challenged restriction imposes a "substantial" burden on the right to vote. 591 F.2d at 1260.[14]

Second, the Court has expressly rejected the type of sharp dichotomy the appellants suggest. *See, e.g., Anderson*, 460 U.S. at 786 ("the rights of voters and the rights of candidates do not lend themselves to neat separation") (quoting *Bullock*, 405 U.S. at 143); *Williams v. Rhodes*, 393 U.S. 23, 30-31 (1968) (noting that associational and voting rights are "different, although overlapping, kinds of rights."). Accordingly, we conclude that *Rosario* provides an alternative ground for affirming the district court's judgment.

CONCLUSION

As to plaintiff Glancy and defendant Spriggs, the judgment is VACATED and the case is REMANDED with instructions to dismiss the complaint as moot. As to the remaining plaintiffs and defendants, the judgment is AFFIRMED. Costs are to be borne by appellants.

AFFIRMED IN PART, VACATED AND REMANDED IN PART.

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[14] This was the grounds on which the *Rosario* Court distinguished *Dunn*. *See* 410 U.S. at 757. The Court did not draw any distinction based on the type of rights involved.

REAPPORTIONMENT AND THE GERRYMANDER

Apportionment is the idea that districts which send representatives to Congress, state legislatures, and other bodies which make laws for the people should be drawn to include numbers of population within each district which are as equal as possible.

Since people move around and population centers change over time, many state laws, including Oregon's, require reapportionment to take place every ten years after the census.

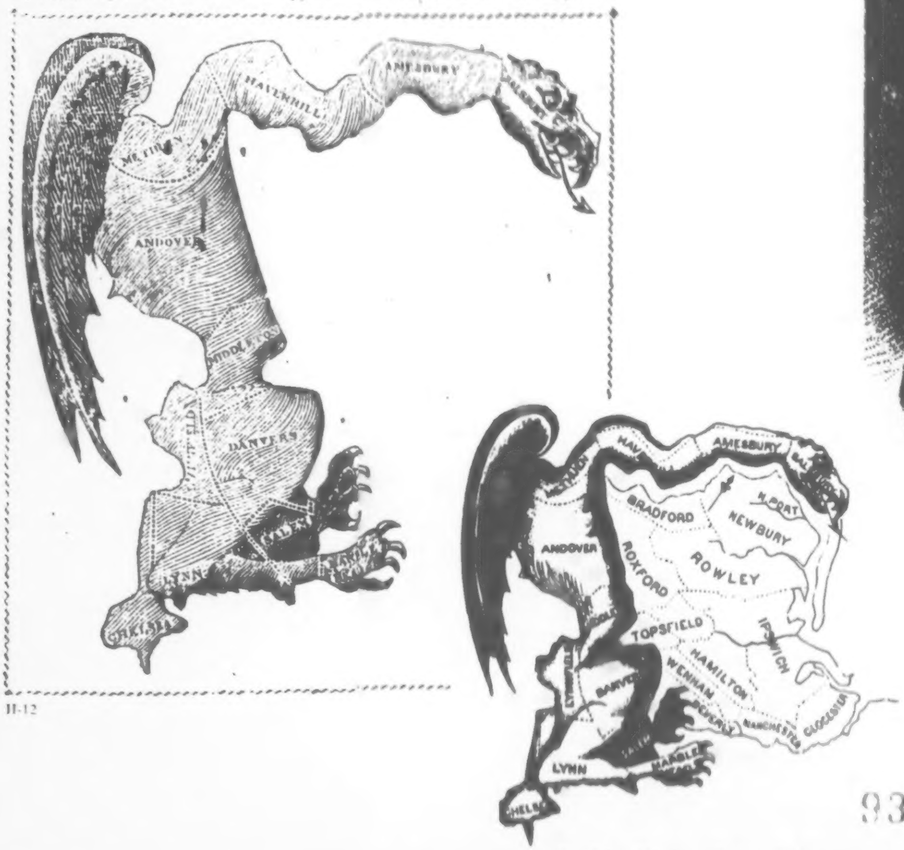
The Supreme Court became involved in the apportionment process when some states refused to recognize changes in population patterns or used plans which unintentionally resulted in violating the principle of "one person, one vote."

Some states, however, intentionally used apportionment as a means of allowing majorities to dominate over minority groups, "creatively" drawing district boundaries. This practice is known as "gerrymandering."

The gerrymander is named after Elbridge Gerry, a governor of Massachusetts. In 1811, Democratic-Republican Party leaders changed district boundaries in Essex County, Massachusetts to promote the election of two candidates to the Senate. (See cartoons below.) Gerry signed the bill, although he opposed it.

The Gerry-mander.

A new species of *Monster*, which appeared in *Essex South District* in January last.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BOXFORD
ROWLEY
TOPSFIELD
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MANCHESTER
GLOCESTER
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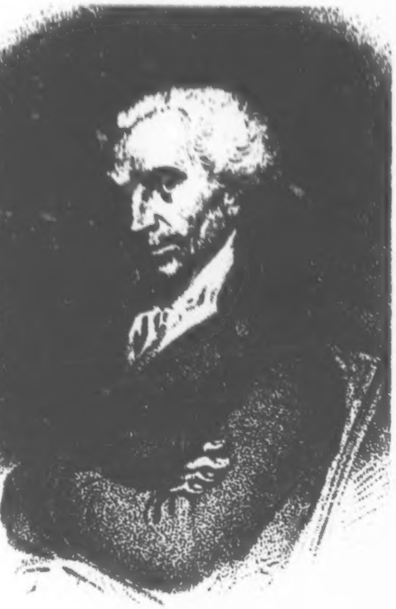
II-12

THE GERRY-MANDER. (Boston, 1811.)



VII. APPORTIONMENT AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Colegrove v. Green (1946) 328 U.S. 549

FACTS: Three Illinois residents of a congressional district with greater population than other districts in the State brought suit against the State holding an election when the districts lacked equality of population and compactness of territory.

QUESTION: Is this an issue that the Supreme Court should decide?

DECISION: No.

REASON: This is a case which is political in nature and is a concern to be addressed by Congress and the state legislatures, not the courts.

Baker v. Carr (1962) 369 U.S. 186

FACTS: The Tennessee General Assembly had failed to change the legislative districts to reflect changes in population since 1901. Such changes in population made voting districts "unequal" and denied voters equal protection of the laws in their right to vote, argued appellants.

QUESTION: Is this an action where the federal courts have jurisdiction?

DECISION: Yes. (overruled Colegrove v. Green)

REASON: "We hold that this challenge to an apportionment presents no nonjusticiable 'political question.'" ... "This case does, in one sense, involve the allocation of political power within a State, ... but ... it does not follow that appellants may not be heard on the equal protection claim which in fact they tender." "The opposite conclusion ... would sanction the achievement by a State of any impairment of voting rights whatever so long as it was cloaked in the garb of the realignment of political subdivisions."

Gray v. Sanders (1963) 372 U.S. 368

FACTS: Georgia's "county unit system" used in the primaries for statewide officers resulted in a situation where votes in the rural counties were heavily overweighted. For example, "one resident in Echols County had an influence in nomination of candidates equivalent to 99 residents in Fulton County."

QUESTION: Do malapportioned districts violate voting rights under equal protection provisions in the Constitution?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "The concept of 'we the people' under the Constitution visualizes no preferred class of voters but equality among those who meet the basic qualifications. ... The conception of political equality from the Declaration of Independence, to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, to the Fifteenth, Seventeenth, and Nineteenth Amendments can mean only one thing--one person, one vote."

Wesberry v. Sanders (1964) 376 U.S. 1

FACTS: A congressional districting statute in Georgia gave some districts more than twice the population of others. Action was brought by voters of Georgia's Fifth Congressional District to overturn the statute because it denied their right to vote.

QUESTION: Does the Georgia statute violate the "one man, one vote" principle established in Article 1, Section 2 of the Constitution?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "We hold that ... the command of Article I, Section 2, that Representatives be chosen 'by the People of the several states' means that as nearly as is practicable one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another's." ... "While it may not be possible to draw congressional districts with mathematical precision, that is not excuse for ignoring our Constitution's plain objective of making equal representation for equal numbers of people a fundamental goal for the House of Representatives. That is the high standard of justice and common sense which the Founders set for us."

Reynolds v. Sims (1964) 377 U.S. 533

FACTS: Jefferson County, Alabama residents filed suit against the apportionment of the Alabama legislature, which had not been reapportioned since 1900. Two proposed plans for apportionment, one constitutional amendment and one statute, did not provide for apportionment on a population basis.

QUESTION: Does the apportionment of the Alabama legislature violate the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "Undoubtedly, the right of suffrage is a fundamental matter in a free and democratic society. ... any alleged infringement of the right of citizens to vote must be carefully and meticulously scrutinized." ... "A nation once primarily rural in character becomes predominantly urban. Representation schemes once fair and equitable become archaic and outdated. But the basic principle of representative government remains, and must remain, unchanged--the weight of a citizen's vote cannot be made to depend on where he lives."

Avery v. Midland County (1968) 390 U.S. 474

FACTS: Midland County (Texas) Commissioners Court, the general governing body of the county, was challenged on the basis of the apportionment of population among the districts. In one district was virtually the entire city of Midland in which 95% of the population resided.

QUESTION: Do political subdivisions within a state need to comply with the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: "That the state legislature may itself be properly apportioned does not exempt municipalities from the 14th Amendment." Thus, the rule of "one person, one vote" was extended to local government units.

Karcher v. Daggett (1983) 462 U.S. 725

FACTS: After the 1980 Census, the New Jersey legislature reapportioned the state's congressional districts. The plan allowed for a deviation in population of 0.1384% to 0.16984% between districts. A group of individuals challenged the plan and were upheld by the District Court, which agreed that the plan violated Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution. The court stated that the population deviations among districts, although small, were not the result of a good-faith effort to achieve population equality.

QUESTION: Does New Jersey's reapportionment plan violate the equal representation standard of Article I, Section 2?

DECISION: Yes.

REASON: Population differences could have been reduced. The state legislature must prove, with specificity, that each significant difference in population between districts was necessary to achieve some legitimate goal. The State argued that its plan was designed to preserve the voting strength of racial minority groups, but failed to show that population deviations among districts were necessary to preserve minority voting strength.

Brown v. Thomson (1983) 462 U.S. 835

FACTS: The state constitution of Wyoming establishes that the legislative representatives will be apportioned among the counties. Such an apportionment scheme created population deviations from 16% to 89% among the districts. A group of voters argued that the county apportionment scheme diluted voting privileges of certain citizens in violation of the 14th Amendment.

QUESTION: Does the county apportionment scheme violate the 14th Amendment?

DECISION: No.

REASON: Some deviations may be necessary to pursue other state objectives, such as maintaining the integrity of political subdivisions and providing for compact districts of contiguous territory. Wyoming, since statehood, has followed a constitutional policy of using counties as representative districts and ensuring that each county has one representative. It has applied the factor of preserving political subdivisions free from any taint of arbitrariness or discrimination.

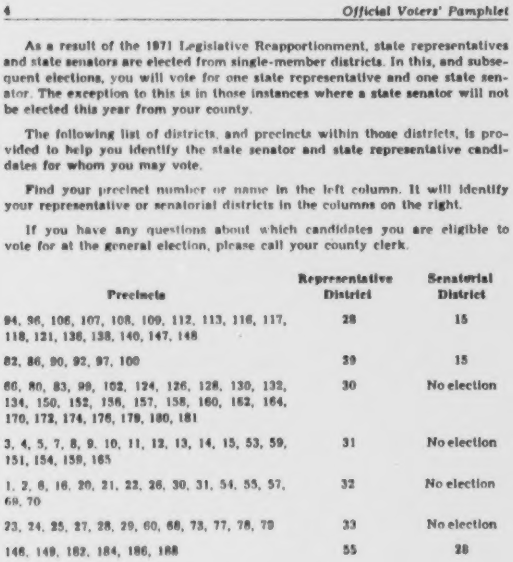
Davis v. Bandemer (1986) 106 S.Ct. 2797

FACTS: Indiana's 1981 state apportionment law was challenged on the basis that the law diluted the votes by Indiana Democrats.

QUESTION: Does the law violate equal protection standards?

DECISION: No.

REASON: Those who challenge a state's apportionment plan must show: (1) specific supporting evidence of intent to discriminate, and (2) a discriminatory effect that consistently degrades the influence of a group--not just one election. The Court also stated that political gerrymandering cases can be decided by the judicial system by those who believe that their voting rights have been challenged.



4 *Official Voters' Pamphlet*

As a result of the 1971 Legislative Reapportionment, state representatives and state senators are elected from single-member districts. In this, and subsequent elections, you will vote for one state representative and one state senator. The exception to this is in those instances where a state senator will not be elected this year from your county.

The following list of districts, and precincts within those districts, is provided to help you identify the state senator and state representative candidates for whom you may vote.

Find your precinct number or name in the left column. It will identify your representative or senatorial districts in the columns on the right.

If you have any questions about which candidates you are eligible to vote for at the general election, please call your county clerk.

Precincts	Representative District	Senatorial District
94, 96, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 116, 117, 118, 121, 136, 138, 140, 147, 148	28	15
82, 86, 90, 92, 97, 100	29	15
66, 80, 83, 99, 102, 124, 126, 128, 130, 132, 134, 150, 152, 156, 157, 158, 160, 162, 164, 170, 172, 174, 176, 179, 180, 181	30	No election
3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 53, 59, 151, 154, 159, 165	31	No election
1, 2, 6, 16, 20, 21, 22, 26, 30, 31, 54, 55, 57, 69, 70	32	No election
23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 60, 68, 73, 77, 78, 79	33	No election
146, 149, 182, 184, 186, 188	55	28

a critical thinking activity

From: Thomas Modl, Editor,
America's Elections:
Opposing Viewpoints.
Greenhaven Press, 1988.

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Distinguishing Bias from Reason

When dealing with controversial issues, many people allow their feelings to dominate their powers of reason. Thus, one of the most important critical thinking skills is the ability to distinguish between statements based upon emotion or bias and conclusions based upon a rational consideration of the facts.

The following statements are taken from the viewpoints in this chapter. Consider each statement carefully. *Mark R for any statement you believe is based on reason or a rational consideration of the facts. Mark B for any statement you believe is based on bias, prejudice, or emotion. Mark I for any statement you think is impossible to judge.*

If you are doing this activity as a member of a class or group, compare your answers with those of other class or group members. Be able to defend your answers. You may discover that others come to different conclusions than you do. Listening to the rationale others present for their answers may give you valuable insights in distinguishing between bias and reason.

R = a statement based upon reason
B = a statement based upon bias
I = a statement impossible to judge

1. If all the decent people stayed out of politics because they thought all politicians were crooks, they would create a self-fulfilling prophecy.
2. To "get anywhere" once elected it is necessary to fit into the established mold.
3. The need for bilingual ballots will diminish in time, as with each generation there are fewer Hispanic Americans who speak only Spanish.
4. Congress arbitrarily designated American aborigines, Asians and those of "Spanish heritage" worthy of special treatment.
5. "Progressive" notions of election reform, such as at-large elections, were adopted to dilute immigrant and minority power.
6. By requiring federal approval of election system changes, the Voting Rights Act gives minorities a chance to overcome a local majority's efforts to keep minorities out of office.
7. The Voting Rights Act is being used to allocate legislative seats by race.
8. Some activists think that by just making their statement for peace and justice, everyone will be in awe of their brightness and be redeemed.
9. The vote of the wage earner and the vote of the Rockefeller count for just as much—neither is worth a damn thing.
10. Since most Hispanics are less likely to vote if bilingual ballots are not available, bilingual ballots are essential if Hispanic Americans are to participate in the political process.
11. Those who tolerate bilingual ballots are undermining the unity of the American nation.
12. When a white majority consistantly votes for white candidates only, and elections are held at large, minority candidates have little chance of winning.
13. Racially integrated politics, not electoral apartheid, will be the firmest foundation for racial justice.

PART II - PRACTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT REGISTRATION, VOTING, AND ELECTIONS

A. Getting Organized: Lesson Plans, Objectives, Tests

B. Lesson I - Voter Registration

C. Lesson II - Marking Your Ballot

D. Lesson III - Resources: The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet

E. Lesson IV - Resources: Newspapers

F. Lesson V - Resources: Television

G. Lesson VI - Resources: Political Parties and Political Action Committees (PACs)

H. Lesson VII - Resources: Campaign Signs and Memorabilia

I. Lesson VIII - The Role of Political Parties in Voting and Elections

J. Lesson IX - Initiative, Referendum, and Recall

K. Lesson X - Political Campaigns and Election Law

L. Lesson XI - Political Campaigns In Action

A. GETTING ORGANIZED

Introduction, Application, Teaching Objectives

Sample Lesson Plan for Teaching Part II

Pre-Test #1 - Objectives 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5

Post-Test #1 - Objectives 1 and 2

Post-Test #2 - Objectives 3(a) and 4

Post-Test #3 - Objectives 3(b) and 5(a)

Post-Test #4 - Objectives 3(c) and 5(b)

Post-Test #5 - Objectives 3(d) and 3(e)

Pre-Test #2 - Objective 6

Post-Test #6 - Objective 6

Pre-Test #3 - Objective 7

Post-Test #7 - Objective 7

Pre-Test #4 - Objectives 8 and 9

Post-Test #8 - Objectives 8 and 9

Answer Keys to Tests

PART II - PRACTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT REGISTRATION, VOTING, AND ELECTIONS

Introduction: This section will take the learner through a series of lessons about how to register to vote, how to mark a ballot, how to get information about candidates and issues, what to consider when joining a political party, how the initiative, referendum, and recall processes work, and how election laws affect candidates running for office.

Application: This section can be incorporated into the following courses of study:

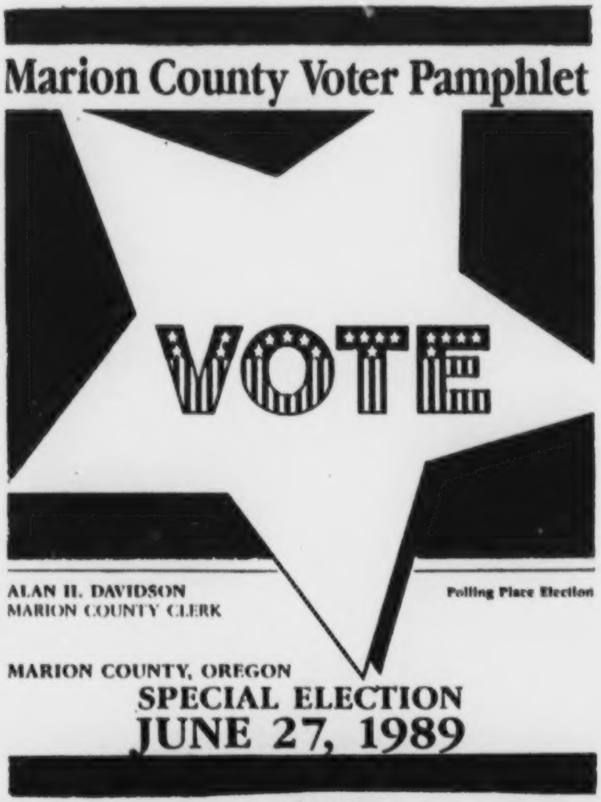
- American Problems
- American Government
- State and Local Government
- Political Science
- Law
- Journalism

Teaching Objectives:

The learner will demonstrate ability to:

1. recall the qualifications and requirements for voter registration in Oregon by listing them.

2. know how to mark several types of ballots by marking sample ballots.



Marion County Voter Pamphlet

VOTE

ALAN H. DAVIDSON
MARION COUNTY CLERK

Polling Place Election

MARION COUNTY, OREGON
SPECIAL ELECTION
JUNE 27, 1989

PART II - PRACTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT REGISTRATION, VOTING, AND ELECTIONS

Teaching Objectives:

The learner will demonstrate ability to:

3. understand how to use the following resources which give voters information about candidates and issues by explaining how information is presented in each:
    a. Oregon Voters' Pamphlet
    b. Newspapers
    c. Television
    d. Political Parties and Political Action Committees (PACs)
    e. Campaign Signs and Memorabilia

4. analyze concerns which voters have in choosing candidates by ranking their own concerns and comparing/contrasting those concerns with the concerns of others.

5. analyze the objectivity of the information in each of the above resources by (a) distinguishing between facts and opinions, and (b) recognizing deceptive arguments.

6. a. understand the relationship between joining a political party and voting in the primary elections by explaining the relevant election rules.

    b. know that there are minority parties in the United States by listing three.

    c. understand how to choose a political party by outlining how to find information about political parties.

    d. analyze the relationship between political parties and democratic government by examining the role of parties in creating power, in responding to the people, and in providing freedom of choice through qualified candidates. The learner will further analyze political parties by examining the impact of adding political parties or reducing our system to a single party system.

7. a. know the meaning and significance of the terms initiative, referendum, and recall by defining them.

    b. understand the initiative process by describing the steps in filing an initiative petition.

    c. understand the referendum process by describing the steps in filing a referendum petition.

    d. understand the recall process by describing the steps in filing a recall petition.

PART II - PRACTICAL INFORMATION ABOUT REGISTRATION, VOTING, AND ELECTIONS

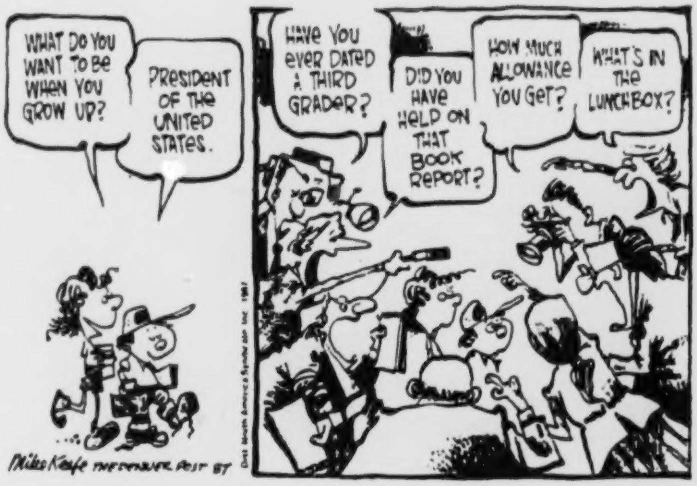
Teaching Objectives:

The learner will demonstrate ability to:

8. a. know that Oregon law regulates elections in the areas of candidate qualifications, filing for office, submission of materials for the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet, and reporting campaign contributions and expenditures, by listing an example of one rule in each of these areas.

   b. understand the rationale behind campaign finance reporting by explaining it.

9. know that running for political office requires a number of tasks by listing three things which must be accomplished by a successful candidate.


WHAT DO YOU WANT TO BE WHEN YOU GROW UP?
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
HAVE YOU EVER DATED A THIRD GRADER?
DID YOU HAVE HELP ON THAT BOOK REPORT?
HOW MUCH ALLOWANCE YOU GET?
WHAT'S IN THE LUNCHBOX?
Mike Keefe THE DENVER POST 87

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SAMPLE LESSON PLAN FOR TEACHING PART II

Objective 1:

The learner will recall the qualifications and requirements for voter registration in Oregon.

Day 1 - Administer Pre-Test #1
- Use transparency and/or handouts to teach information about Registration and Voting from the Oregon Electors' Manual.
- Duplicate Learning Guide About Voting and Registration Rules and Procedures.
- Have students complete the learning guide in small groups.
- Review the information in large group.
- Present the information on the "Did You Know ...?" information pages.
- Use Questions for Discussion/Essay to complete the class hour.

Objective 2:

The learner will know how to mark several types of ballots.

Objective 3(a):

The learner will understand how to use the information in (a) the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet.

Day 2 - Present background information on Marking Your Ballot.
- Have students mark the demonstration ballot.
- Optional: tally results. Compare with other class results.
- Present information in Lesson III - Resources: The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet.
- Divide the class into small groups.
- Have students do the Ballot Measure 5 Activity and the Presidential Candidates Activity.
- If time: have students share responses in large group.

Objective 4:

The learner will analyze concerns which voters have in choosing candidates.

Day 3 - In small groups, have students do the critical thinking activity: Ranking Concerns in Choosing a President.
- Have students report their conclusions in large group.
- Have students compare their conclusions for today's activity with their list of qualifications in yesterday's Presidential Candidates Activity.

Objective 3(b):

The learner will understand how to use the information in (b) newspapers.

Day 4 - Complete the Newsguide newspaper learning guide.

Objective 5(a):

The learner will analyze the objectivity of the information in each resource by (a) distinguishing between facts and opinions.

Day 5 - Do the critical thinking activity: Distinguishing Between Fact and Opinion.
- Share results of the critical thinking activity.
- Review and evaluation. Suggested evaluation tools include questions from Pre-Test #1, Discussion/Essay Questions, and Multiple Choice Post-Tests #1, #2, and #3.

Objective 3(c):

The learner will understand how to use the information in (c) television.

Day 6 - Present the information in Lesson V about television as a resource.
- Preview the article "How to Watch a Debate" using the Questions for Discussion/Essay.
- If possible, show an excerpt from a political debate.
- Have students rate the debate, using the "Rate the Debate" format at the end of the article on "How to Watch a Debate."

Objective 5(b):

The learner will analyze the objectivity of the information in each resource by (b) recognizing deceptive arguments.

Objective 3(d)(e):

The learner will understand how to use the information in the following resources: (d) political parties and political action committees (PACs) and (e) campaign signs and memorabilia.

Day 7 - Review and discuss student ratings of the political debate.
- Do the critical thinking activity: Recognizing Deceptive Arguments.
- Present the information on political parties/PACs and campaign signs and memorabilia (Lessons VI and VII).
- Have students read "How to Judge a Candidate" as a summary activity about resources.
- Evaluation. Suggested evaluation tools include questions from Pre-Test #1, Discussion/Essay Questions, and Multiple Choice Post-Tests #4 and #5.

Objective 6:

The learner will understand the relationship between political parties and primary elections, and political parties and democratic government. The learner will know that there are two major and a number of minor political parties. The learner will understand how to choose a political party.

Day 8 - Administer Pre-Test #2
- Present information about the role of political parties in voting and elections (Lesson VIII).
- Have students explore the information about party platforms and minority parties in the United States.
- Have students answer discussion/essay questions in small groups.
- Compare student responses in large group.
- Administer Post-Test #6.

Objective 7:

The learner will understand the initiative, referendum and recall processes.

Day 9 - Administer Pre-Test #3.
- Discuss the definitions of initiative, referendum and recall. Point out that Oregon was considered a progressive political state by spearheading these reforms. (See Lesson IX.)
- Proceed through the steps for each process, stopping after each topic to answer the Questions for Discussion/Essay.
- Optional Activity: Have students create their own initiative petitions and circulate petitions at school. See "Activity Idea."
- Administer Post-Test #7.

Objective 8:

The learner will know about Oregon election laws regulating candidate qualifications, filing for office, submission of materials for the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet, and reporting campaign contributions. The learner will study the tasks required by candidates running for political office.

Day 10 - Administer Pre-Test #4.
- Present the background information about election laws and political campaigns (Lessons X and XI).
- Have students answer the Discussion/Essay questions.
- Optional Activity: Organize a class political campaign simulation. (See Lesson XI.)
- Review and evaluation. Post-Test #8.

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

PRE-TEST #1 - Objectives 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5

1. a. List 2 qualifications a person must have in order to register to vote in Oregon.

   b. How do you register to vote in Oregon?

   c. Under what circumstances must you reregister to vote?

   d. What is the deadline for voter registration in Oregon? ______ days

   e. If I can't make it to the polls on election day, I can still vote by ____________________ ballot.

2. Below are three types of ballots. Mark each according to your own opinion. (Credit given for correct marking! There are no "correct" votes!!)

1 Do you favor closing all polling places simultaneously during Presidential Elections? **YES** ☐ **NO** ☐ (traditional ballot)

7 Are you in favor of abolishing the Internal Revenue Service? **YES** ⬅ ⬅ **NO** ⬅ ⬅ (optical scan ballot)

8 Shall the President of The United States be elected for life? **YES** 1 ● **NO** 2 ● (punch card ballot)

3. The following resources help voters to make informed voting decisions. Explain what information about elections is presented in each.

   a. Oregon Voters' Pamphlet -

   b. newspapers -

   c. television -

   d. political party and interest group publications -

   e. signs, buttons, posters, bumper stickers -

4. Analyze the objectivity of each of the following statements found in several of the above resources by deciding if the information is primarily fact or opinion.

Circle FACT or OPINION after each statement.

1. "Ballot Measure 5 creates an Intercollegiate Athletic Fund to support intercollegiate athletic programs for men and women at state colleges and universities." FACT OPINION

2. "Participation in sports can be critical to developing a student's self-discipline, leadership skills and teamwork. These are characteristics we need to encourage in our young people." FACT OPINION

3. "A well-funded college athletic program is a worthwhile goal." FACT OPINION

4. "The President (Nixon) is bringing U.S. involvement in Vietnam to an honorable end." FACT OPINION

5. "In these and many other areas, including the fight against crime and the preservation of our environment, President Nixon has provided the highest level of dynamic, responsible and effective leadership." FACT OPINION

6. "People from all over our area are supporting Kelly Clark for State Representative." FACT OPINION

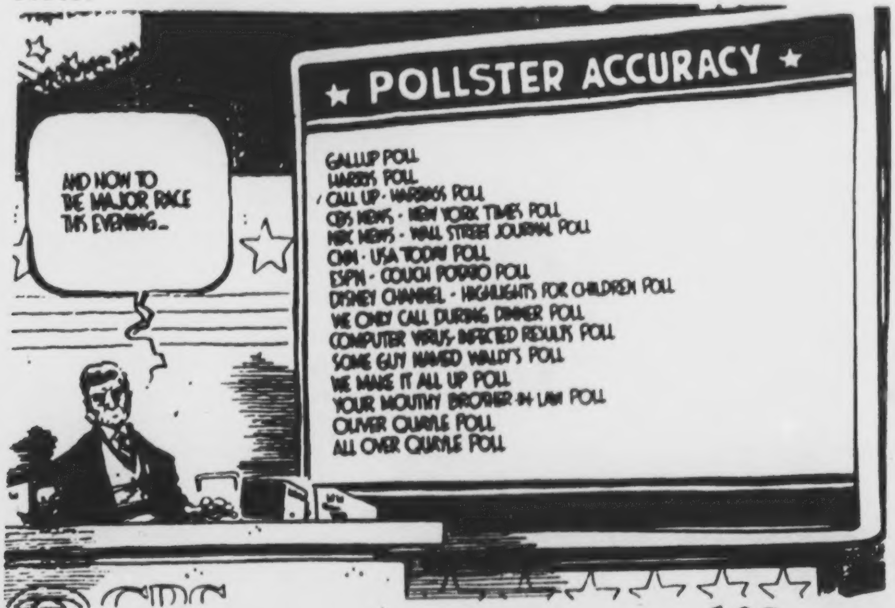
7. "I am a man who sees life in terms of missions," Bush said in his acceptance speech. FACT OPINION

8. "Roberts has reported that 84,247 fewer Oregonians are registered to vote this November than were signed up for the last presidential election in 1984." FACT OPINION

9. "The 1986 initiative (on voter registration) was an overreaction." FACT OPINION

10. "Ballot Measure 5 is the wrong tax for the wrong things at the wrong time on the wrong people." FACT OPINION

11. "Strong college athletic programs keep Oregonians in the state." FACT OPINION

12.  FACT OPINION

POLLSTER ACCURACY
AND NOW TO THE MAJOR RACE THIS EVENING...
GALLUP POLL
HARRIS POLL
CALL UP - HARRASS POLL
CBS NEWS - NEW YORK TIMES POLL
NBC NEWS - WALL STREET JOURNAL POLL
CNN - USA TODAY POLL
ESPN - COUCH POTATO POLL
DISNEY CHANNEL - HIGHLIGHTS FOR CHILDREN POLL
WE ONLY CALL DURING DINNER POLL
COMPUTER VIRUS-INFECTED RESULTS POLL
SOME GUY NAMED WALLY'S POLL
WE MAKE IT ALL UP POLL
YOUR MOUTHY BROTHER-IN-LAW POLL
OLIVER QUAYLE POLL
ALL OVER QUAYLE POLL

5. Rank the following concerns according to (a) your own personal beliefs and (b) according to what you believe are the beliefs on someone else, such as a parent, teacher, or other significant person in your life.

Self	Other	Concerns in Choosing A President (Rank from 1-12, 1 for most important, 12 for least important)
________	________	candidate's opinion on a particular issue
________	________	candidate's personal or family life
________	________	candidate's party affiliation
________	________	candidate's home state or region
________	________	candidate's ability in public debates
________	________	candidate's appearance, television presence
________	________	candidate's previous government experience
________	________	candidate's trustworthiness, honesty
________	________	candidate's voting record
________	________	candidate's racial or ethnic background
________	________	candidate's gender
________	________	endorsements candidate has received

Now give one example of how your concerns are similar to those of your "other" person and one example of how your concerns are different. Explain possible reasons for the similarities and differences.

6. Label each of the following deceptive arguments with one of the following tactics: (a) scare tactics, (b) strawperson, (c) generalization, and (d) slanters.

George Bush doesn't want voters to know his real record on gun control. ________

If we pass a gun control law now, the next step will be the government taking away all the guns. ________

My opponent is a card-carrying member of the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union). ________

Of the 10 schools in the PAC 10, only 5 use tax money to support intercollegiate sports. In the past 30 years, the 5 schools with tax support went to the Rose Bowl only 7 times, the 5 without tax support went 23 times! ________

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #1 - Objectives 1 and 2: Voter Registration and Marking Your Ballot

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. In order to register to vote in Oregon, a person must be _______________.

(a) a citizen of the United States
(b) at least 18 years old on or before election day.
(c) at least 21 years old on or before election day.
(d) a and b
(e) a and c

____ 2. In Oregon, you can register to vote ____________.

(a) by mail
(b) in person
(c) both a and b

____ 3. You must reregister to vote if you change your _____________.

(a) address
(b) name
(c) political party
(d) all of the above

____ 4. You must be registered to vote by _____________ in order to vote in that election.

(a) election day
(b) the 15th day before the election
(c) the 21st day before the election
(d) the 46th day before the election

____ 5. If you can't make it to the polls on election day for any reason, you can still vote by _____________ ballot.

(a) absentee
(b) optical scan
(c) vote-by-mail
(d) long-term absent elector

____ 6. How can you find out where to vote on election day?

(a) your precinct memorandum card
(b) your voter registration card
(c) your local newspaper
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c

____ 7. What must you always do before returning a vote-by-mail ballot in order to make your vote count?

(a) mark every item on the ballot
(b) sign the ballot
(c) attach identification
(d) sign the return envelope

____ 8. What is an example of making it easier for handicapped people to vote?

(a) special access to polling places
(b) voters' pamphlets on cassette tape
(c) large type ballots
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c

____ 9. In Oregon, convicted felons ___________.

(a) are allowed to vote by absentee ballot
(b) lose their voting rights permanently
(c) cannot vote until they are discharged or paroled
(d) print the voters' pamphlets at the Oregon State Penitentiary

____ 10. If you are not affiliated with the Democratic or Republican political parties, ________________.

(a) you cannot vote in the general elections
(b) you cannot vote in the primary elections
(c) you can vote on ballot measures in all elections
(d) you can vote for nonpartisan candidates in the primary elections

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #2 - Objectives 3(a) and 4: Oregon Voters' Pamphlets and Ranking Concerns in Choosing a President

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet is published by ________________.

(a) each county clerk's office
(b) the State Attorney General
(c) the State legislature
(d) the Secretary of State

____ 2. Oregon Voters' Pamphlets are ________________.

(a) mailed to every household in Oregon
(b) mailed to every registered voter in Oregon
(c) mailed to residents 18 years and older
(d) available in post offices and county courthouses

____ 3. Arguments in favor and in opposition of ballot measures may be submitted to the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet by ________________.

(a) interested citizens
(b) members of the state legislature
(c) the Governor
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c

____ 4. ________________ may submit photographs and information about their qualifications and beliefs to the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet.

(a) ballot measure supporters
(b) ballot measure opponents
(c) candidates
(d) all of the above

____ 5. The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet includes the following information about ballot measures: ________________.

(a) a complete statement of the proposed law
(b) an impartial explanation of the proposed law
(c) arguments for and against the proposed law
(d) all of the above
(e) a and c

6-8. Which of the concerns in choosing a President (listed below) would most likely influence the voters described below?

Concerns: (a) candidate's opinion on a particular issue
(b) candidate's personal or family life
(c) candidate's party affiliation
(d) candidate's appearance, television presence
(e) endorsements candidate has received

____ 6. Mary is an avid environmentalist who has participated in several demonstrations against logging in the old-growth forests. Which of the above concerns would influence Mary the most in choosing a candidate for President?

____ 7. Justin works in the local Republican Party headquarters and usually votes a "straight" Republican ticket. Which of the above concerns would influence Justin the most in choosing a candidate for President?

____ 8. Sam is an active member of the United Steelworkers Union and listens to the advice of his local organization. Which of the above concerns would influence Sam the most in choosing a candidate for President?

9-10. Which of the concerns in choosing a President (listed below) would most likely influence the voters described below?

Concerns: (a) candidate's party affiliation
(b) candidate's home state or region
(c) candidate's ability in public debates
(d) candidate's racial or ethnic background
(e) candidate's gender

____ 9. Erika has attended the 1984 Democratic nominating convention and strongly supported the nomination of Geraldine Ferraro as Vice President. She believes that more qualified women are needed to serve in public office. Which concern would most likely influence Erika?

____ 10. Christian is a businessman in Dallas who supported President Bush in 1988 because he believed that this candidate would have a better understanding of the problems in Bush's home state of Texas. Which concern would most likely influence Christian?

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #3 - Objectives 3(b) and 5(a): Newspapers and Distinguishing Between Facts and Opinions

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. You can find the most objective information about candidates and issues in a newspaper's ______________.

(a) political ads
(b) political cartoons
(c) news analyses
(d) straight news stories

____ 2. Editorial page columns express the views of ________________.

(a) the newspaper publishers
(b) the columnists
(c) the readers
(d) all of the above

____ 3. When a film star endorses a candidate, this is an example of which type of advertising appeal?

(a) status
(b) hero worship
(c) luxury
(d) conformity

____ 4. When a candidate's ad contains a long list of "friends" in the community, this is an example of which type of advertising appeal?

(a) status
(b) hero worship
(c) luxury
(d) conformity

____ 5. News analyses and editorials reflect the __________________.

(a) reporter's factual observations of specific events
(b) interpretations of the news writer
(c) actual views of the candidates
(d) personal, rather than political, information about the candidates

____ 6. Political cartoons are a visual form of ________________.

(a) a feature story
(b) an "inverted pyramid" format
(c) a news photograph
(d) an editorial

____ 7. To be accepted for publication, letters to the editor must not be ________.

(a) brief
(b) libelous or profane
(c) in agreement with newspaper editorials
(d) in opposition to newspaper editorials

8-10. Decide whether the following statements are facts or opinions.

____ 8. Federal funds should not be used to finance abortions.

(a) fact
(b) opinion

____ 9. The call for the death penalty is a smokescreen for the Republican failure in the fight against crime and drugs.

(a) fact
(b) opinion

____ 10. Governor Reagan gave the taxpayers $5.7 billion tax relief, in the form of credits and rebates.

(a) fact
(b) opinion

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #4 - Objectives 3(c) and 5(b): Television and Recognizing Deceptive Arguments

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. On which type of television program would a voter find the most substantive information about candidates and issues?

(a) television advertising spot
(b) television network news report
(c) television news analysis program
(d) televised political party nominating convention

____ 2. On which type of television program would a voter find the LEAST substantive information about candidates and issues?

(a) television advertising spot
(b) television network news report
(c) television news analysis program
(d) televised political party nominating convention

____ 3. Which candidate is usually more eager to debate?

(a) the incumbent
(b) the challenger

____ 4. Scholars agree that political debates have _______ impact on the outcome of an election.

(a) no
(b) little
(c) much

____ 5. Up until 1988, Presidential debates were sponsored by the ____________.

(a) major cola companies
(b) Republican and Democratic parties
(c) Vote America Foundation
(d) League of Women Voters

6-10. Imagine you are watching a political debate between two candidates on television. Evaluate their arguments. If an argument is deceptive, decide which tactic, (a) (b) (c), is being used. If an argument is not deceptive, mark (d).

(a) personal attack
(b) scare tactic
(c) slanter
(d) NOT a deceptive argument

____ 6. "My opponent wants to disarm the people in his state, except for the military and the police."

____ 7. "My opponent has consulted with astrologers. He appointed one to state government, calling her the 'state-designated Witch of Salem.'"

____ 8. "My opponent opposes tuition tax credits."

____ 9. "My opponent supports voluntary school prayer."

____ 10. "My opponent is a card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union."

Mark the above arguments according to the following:

(a) personal attack
(b) scare tactic
(c) slanter
(d) NOT a deceptive argument

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #5 - Objectives 3(d) and 3(e): Political Parties/PACs, Campaign Signs and Memorabilia, How to Judge a Candidate

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. Information about candidates and issues from political parties and interest groups or political action committees is usually __________ objective.

(a) very
(b) not very

____ 2. Lawn signs, posters, buttons, bumper stickers, and other memorabilia promote a candidate on the basis of _____________.

(a) qualifications
(b) issues
(c) wealth
(d) name familiarity

____ 3. Oregon Right to Life is an example of a _______________.

(a) political action committee
(b) political party committee
(c) professional or labor union
(d) large corporate sponsor

____ 4. United Steelworkers of America is an example of a ____________

(a) political action committee
(b) political party committee
(c) professional or labor union
(d) large corporate sponsor

____ 5. Intelligence, honesty, and an ability to communicate are examples of _____________.

(a) government experience
(b) interest in important issues
(c) leadership qualities
(d) campaign slogans

____ 6. Sources of information about candidates include _______________.

(a) campaign literature
(b) newspaper reports
(c) candidates' speeches and debates
(d) all of the above

____ 7. The next step after gathering materials about candidates is to ____________ the candidates' stands on the issues.

(a) memorize
(b) evaluate
(c) oppose
(d) support

____ 8. Learning about how other people view a candidate can help you clarify your own views.

(a) True
(b) False

____ 9. Opinion poll information can be crucial for a candidate, because it can ____________________.

(a) increase candidate support and contributions
(b) predict the outcome of an election
(c) include only large samples of voters
(d) use unbiased questions to determine voter opinions

____ 10. When asked about a solution to the drug problem through decriminalization of drugs, a candidate stated the following: "I haven't made up my mind definitely, but it is something we will have to consider along with education and treatment." This statement is an example of ___________.

(a) passing the blame
(b) evading the issue
(c) catchwords
(d) promising the sky

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

PRE-TEST #2 - Objective 6: The Role of Political Parties in Voting and Elections

1. What do the Oregon election laws say about voting in primary elections and belonging to a political party?

2. List 3 political parties in the United States, in addition to the Democratic and Republican parties.

3. How does a person decide which political party to join?

4. Do political parties make our system more or less democratic? Explain.

   -How do political parties respond to the needs of the people?

   -How do political parties influence or affect the power in government?

   -How would our government be affected by having many political parties? by having a single political party system?

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #6 - Objective 6: The Role of Political Parties in Voting and Elections

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. What is the best way to choose a political party that matches your own values and interests?

(a) Read the party platforms and study the party positions on important issues.
(b) Ask your friends which party they think is best.
(c) Join the political party of one candidate you really admire.
(d) Flip a coin.

____ 2. Party platforms are ________________..

(a) objective outlines of what each party stands for
(b) full of political compromises and can change over time
(c) put together only at national political nominating conventions
(d) designed solely to appeal to party membership

____ 3. Which of the following is not a recognized political party in the United States?

(a) the Communist Party of the United States of America
(b) the National Prohibition Party
(c) the Libertarian Party
(d) the National Whig Party

____ 4. Single party systems are found more often in ________ governments.

(a) democratic
(b) authoritarian

____ 5. Since 1947, the Supreme Court has held that political parties are _______.

(a) private clubs
(b) governmental agencies
(c) unconstitutional
(d) not under the jurisdiction of the federal courts

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

PRE-TEST #3 - Objective 7: Initiative, Referendum, and Recall

1. Define:

   Initiative -

   Referendum -

   Recall -

2. Describe the steps in filing an initiative petition.

3. Describe the steps in filing a referendum petition.

4. Describe the steps in filing a recall petition.

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #7 - Objective 7: Initiative, Referendum, and Recall

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. The people propose a new law through the petition process to place on the ballot. This process is called ________________.

(a) initiative
(b) referendum
(c) recall

____ 2. This process is a powerful instrument used to remove a public officer from office.

(a) initiative
(b) referendum
(c) recall

____ 3. Where does a citizen go to start a state referendum petition process?

(a) the State legislature
(b) the Attorney General's office
(c) the Legislative Counsel Committee
(d) the Secretary of State's office

____ 4. The Oregon Constitution requires that initiative measures deal with ________________.

(a) one subject only
(b) money measures
(c) laws already passed by the State legislature
(d) controversial issues

____ 5. Before a statewide referendum measure will be placed on the Oregon ballot, petitioners need to collect approximately _______ signatures.

(a) 600
(b) 6,000
(c) 24,000
(d) 42,000

____ 6. The ____________ may also refer proposed legislation to the people for a vote.

(a) State legislature
(b) Attorney General's office
(c) Legislative Counsel Committee
(d) Secretary of State's office

____ 7. The ____________ provides a ballot title for initiative and referendum measures.

(a) State legislature
(b) Attorney General
(c) Legislative Counsel Committee
(d) Secretary of State

____ 8. In the recall process, the public officer being recalled has the opportunity to ____________.

(a) resign
(b) submit a statement for the ballot
(c) both a and b
(d) none of the above

____ 9. U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives ________ be recalled.

(a) may
(b) may not

____ 10. While initiative, referendum, and recall have been used on a limited basis at the ________ level, they have been frequently used at the _________ level.

(a) national/state
(b) state/national
(c) state/local
(d) local/state

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

PRE-TEST #4 - Objectives 8 and 9: Political Campaigns and Election Law
Political Campaigns In Action

1. List one example of an Oregon state regulation or law in each of the following areas:

   a. Candidate qualifications for political office in Oregon:

      Examples of qualifications: age, citizenship, residence, party affiliation, length of term

      Examples of political offices: U.S. Senator, Governor, Secretary of State, State Representative, Tax Court Judge

   b. Filing for Political Office: (rules about fees and petitions)

   c. Submission of Materials for the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet: (fees and space requirements)

   d. Candidate reports of campaign contributions and expenditures:

2. Why have regulations been established which require candidates to report campaign contributions and expenditures?

3. List 3 tasks which must be accomplished by a winning candidate in a political campaign.

   a.

   b.

   c.

PART II - Practical Information About Registration, Voting, and Elections

POST-TEST #8 - Objectives 8 and 9: Political Campaigns and Election Law Political Campaigns In Action

Multiple Choice. For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. To run for *any* political office in Oregon, a person must have the following qualification: ______________.

(a) be at least 18 years old
(b) be a U.S. citizen
(c) be a resident of the state for at least five years
(d) belong to a major political party

____ 2. Oregon has a "direct" nominating primary election. This means that ____________.

(a) only electors registered as Democrats or Republicans may vote for party candidates
(b) candidates are nominated "directly" by the people in the State
(c) Oregon has adopted a winner-takes-all system for electing the President
(d) Nonpartisan candidates are only elected during the general election

____ 3. Candidates for statewide political office in Oregon must collect signatures on a petition or ______________.

(a) be sponsored by a major political party
(b) solicit letters of recommendation from five current public officers
(c) present proof of residency and college education
(d) pay a filing fee to the Secretary of State

____ 4. Unless one of the candidates from an established minor political party receives 1% of the entire vote for U.S. Representative in an electoral district, the party _________________.

(a) must again go through the petition process in that electoral district
(b) must file a report of campaign activities with the Secretary of State
(c) must apply for recognition with the Office of the Attorney General
(d) must pay a "political party formation" fee

____ 5. Nonpartisan candidates _____________________.

(a) may run in the primary election regardless of party affiliation
(b) include those running for judge, district attorney, and Superintendent of Public Instruction
(c) may win office if they receive a majority vote in the primary election
(d) all of the above
(e) a and b

____ 6. In what two ways does the Secretary of State's office regulate submission of candidates' materials for the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet?

(a) content of message and filing fees
(b) filing fees and space limitations
(c) space limitations and photographs
(d) photographs and content of message

____ 7. Candidates who miss the deadline for inclusion in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet ________________.

(a) save money
(b) lose money and political exposure
(c) can file for an extension with the Secretary of State
(d) can pay an additional late fee to be included

____ 8. All candidates must file statements of __________ received and expenditures made during a campaign.

(a) volunteer services
(b) votes
(c) loans over $100
(d) contributions

____ 9. The primary purpose behind campaign finance reporting is _____________.

(a) to keep down campaign costs
(b) to promote fiscal accountability and honesty in campaigns
(c) to discourage "in-kind" contributions
(d) to create additional responsibilities for county clerks

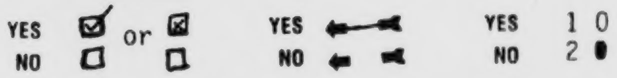
____ 10. A winning campaign requires ________________.

(a) physical, emotional, and mental preparation
(b) sufficient campaign funds
(c) a thorough understanding of the needs and hopes of a candidate's potential constituents
(d) careful planning and scheduling
(e) all of the above

ANSWER KEYS TO PART II PRE-TESTS AND POST-TESTS

PRE-TEST #1 - Objectives 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5

1. a. citizen of the United States, will be 18 years or older on or before date of election.
   b. complete a voter registration card and deliver or mail it so that it is received not later than 5 p.m. on the 21st day before the election at which you intend to vote.
   c. You must reregister if you change your residence, party affiliation, or name.
   d. 21 (20-day cutoff)
   e. absentee

2. 

3. a. ballot measures: title, content and explanation of measure, arguments in support and in opposition submitted by interested citizens, government officials, and interest groups.
   candidates: photographs, summary of qualifications, statements of beliefs and positions of issues submitted by candidates and their committees.
   b. information and photographs about events, issues, ballot measures, and candidates in the form of: news stories, feature stories, news analyses, editorial opinions, letters to the editor, editorial cartoons, political columns and artwork; political ads are submitted by the candidates and committees.
   c. information about events, issues, ballot measures, and candidates in the form of: news stories and reports, news analysis programs, televised political events, such as debates and nominating conventions, political ads submitted by candidates and committees.
   d. information about candidates and issues, persuasive in nature, through direct mailings, sponsorship of ads on television and radio and in newspapers and magazines; political party platform statements about beliefs and stands on the major issues.
   e. designed to promote name familiarity; generally short message in large print.

4. 1. FACT
   2. OPINION (can be argued the other way, but is a statement of values.)
   3. OPINION
   4. OPINION
   5. OPINION
   6. FACT (if support is verified)
   7. FACT (the quote is an opinion, but it is a fact that he said it in his acceptance speech)
   8. FACT
   9. OPINION
   10. OPINION
   11. OPINION
   12. OPINION

5. rankings: student choice, will vary. reasons: student should recognize that personal situations and values may influence which concerns are most important to an individual when choosing a candidate.

6. b, a, d, c

POST-TEST #1 - Objectives 1 and 2

1.	D	3.	D	5.	A	7.	D	9.	C
2.	C	4.	C	6.	E	8.	D	10.	D

POST-TEST #2 - Objectives 3(a) and 4

1.	D	3.	D	5.	D	7.	C	9.	E
2.	A	4.	C	6.	A	8.	E	10.	B

POST-TEST #3 - Objectives 3(b) and 5(a)

1.	D	3.	B	5.	B	7.	B	9.	B
2.	B	4.	D	6.	D	8.	B	10.	A

POST-TEST #4 - Objectives 3(c) and 5(b)

1.	C	3.	B	5.	D	7.	A	9.	D
2.	A	4.	B	6.	A	8.	D	10.	C

POST-TEST #5 - Objectives 3(d) and 3(e)

1.	B	3.	A	5.	C	7.	B	9.	A
2.	D	4.	C	6.	D	8.	A	10.	B

PRE-TEST #2 - Objective 6

1. You must belong to a major political party (Republican or Democratic) if you wish to vote in the primary elections.

2. Possible answers include:

   Communist Party USA
   National Hamiltonian Party
   National Prohibition Party
   Libertarian Party
   Peace and Freedom Party
   Socialist Party USA
   Citizens Party
   Socialist Workers Party
   American Party
   American Independent Party
   (but often candidates who run as "independents" are not affiliated with any political party)
   Right-to-Life Party
   Workers World Party

3. Investigate the values and positions on issues that the political parties represent and then choose a party which best serves your interests. Watch national nominating conventions on television. Read the party platforms. Visit your local library. Visit your local party headquarters. Be INFORMED before making a choice!

4. Political parties make our system more democratic by promoting interest in candidates running for office and in the issues. Parties help the general public identify with established positions on issues. Parties involve many people at local, state, and national levels who organize volunteers to work for candidates and ballot measures. Political parties offer financial support to qualified candidates who might otherwise not have the opportunity to run for office.

   Political parties attempt to attract members and general support and thus try to be responsive to the largest number of people possible.

   Political parties determine which Senators and Representatives get key positions on committees and become chairpersons or speakers. A Congress or legislature dominated by the opposite political party to the Executive (President or Governor) can result in stalemates (or "checks and balances"?) in solving problems and passing legislation.

   Multi-party systems offer more variety of opinions and more opportunities for existing social groups (religious, professional, single political interest, etc.) to be represented by a political party. Multi-party systems can result in less stability in government because of less compromise before an election, less desire of parties to appeal to the general electorate and less opportunity for the chief executive to represent a broad base of the population.

   Single-party systems lead to lower levels of voter participation, less interest in public affairs, less identification with the views of the party, and more opportunity for party and candidate corruption.

POST-TEST #6 - Objective 6

1. A
2. B
3. D
4. A
5. B

PRE-TEST #3 - Objective 7

1. initiative - allows the people to propose new laws or change the state constitution through a ballot measure at the general election.
   referendum - allows the people to refer an act of the legislature or other governing body to a vote of the electorate.
   recall - a powerful instrument used to remove a public officer from office.

2. Step 1 - Prospective petition is filed with the Secretary of State (statewide) or local elections officer (local).
   Step 2 - Text is distributed.
   Step 3 - Ballot title (caption, question, statement) is provided.
   Step 4 - Cover and signature sheets are submitted.
   Step 5 - Signatures are collected.
   Step 6 - Signatures are verified.
   Step 7 - Statement of contributions and expenses is filed.
   Step 8 - Financial effect is determined.
   Step 9 - Statewide measures are printed in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet.
   Step 10 - Election is held.

3. Step 1 - Prospective petition is filed with Secretary of State or local elections officer.
   Step 2 - Cover and signature sheets are submitted.
   Step 3 - Signatures are collected.
   Step 4 - Signatures are verified.
   Step 5 - Ballot title (caption, question, statement) is provided.
   Step 6 - Statement of contributions and expenses is filed.
   Step 7 - Statewide measures are printed in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet.
   Step 8 - Election is held.

4. Step 1 - Prospective recall petition is filed with appropriate elections officer.
   Step 2 - Petitions are prepared.
   Step 3 - Petitions are circulated.
   Step 4 - Signatures are verified.
   Step 5 - Election date is determined. Officer being recalled is given five days to resign. Officer may submit a statement for the ballot.
   Step 6 - Election is held. Officer continues in office until official results are decided.

POST-TEST #7 - Objective 7

1. A
2. C
3. D
4. A
5. D
6. A
7. B
8. C
9. B
10. C

PRE-TEST #4 - Objectives 8 and 9

1.a. See pp. 265 - 268 for summary of qualifications.
  b. See pp. 269 - 272 for filing requirements.
  c. See pp. 272-273 for Voters' Pamphlet regulations.
  d. See p. 274 for contributions and expenditures reporting regulations.
2. to allow public record of special interest support for candidates and to promote honesty in campaigns and elections.
3. Responsibilities include: determine political interest, make the decision, do your research, develop a campaign strategy, raise money, organize a grass-roots campaign, get out the vote, express appreciation.

POST-TEST #8 - Objectives 8 and 9

1. B
2. A
3. D
4. A
5. D
6. B
7. B
8. D
9. B
10. E

B. LESSON I - VOTER REGISTRATION

Introduction to Voter Registration

Summary of Voter Registration and the Voting Process in Oregon

Learning Guide About Voting and Registration

Election Laws Are Constantly Changing

Did You Know ... ?

Suggested Activities for Extra Credit

Questions for Discussion/Essay

Answers to Learning Guide and Discussion/Essay Questions

Objective #1: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

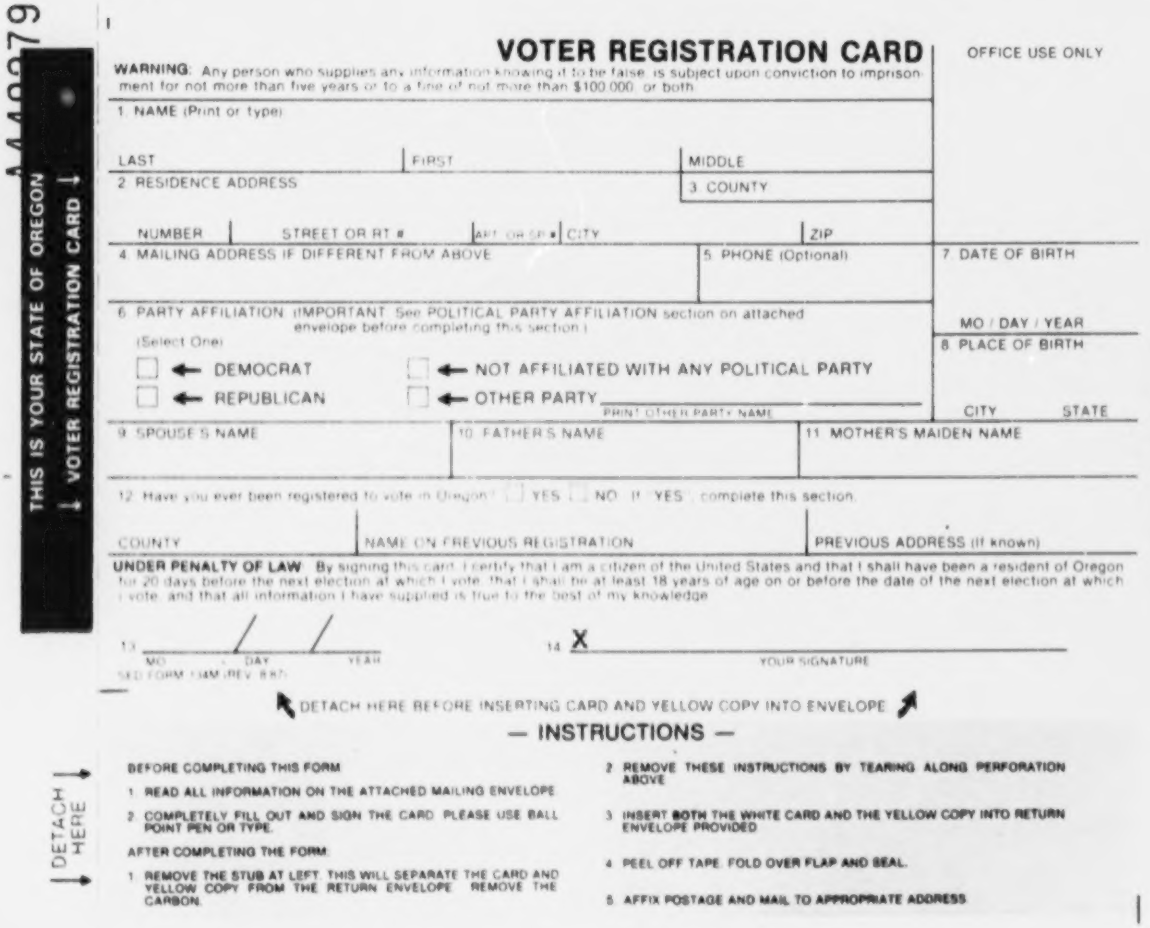
recall the qualifications and requirements for voter registration in Oregon by listing them.

INTRODUCTION TO VOTER REGISTRATION

Registering to vote is quite simple if you know the rules! Registration cards are available in most schools, at your county elections office, and in other public buildings and political party headquarters.

The next two pages summarize the registration and voting process in Oregon. The summary, adapted from the 1988 Oregon Electors' Manual, describes the rules you need to know about registration, reregistration, and voting (in person, absentee, and by mail). For more details, read the Electors' Manual which is available from the Oregon Secretary of State's office.

After the summary is a learning guide to help you study the rules. Before you begin, take a moment to practice filling out a voter registration card.



THIS IS YOUR STATE OF OREGON

↓ VOTER REGISTRATION CARD ↓

VOTER REGISTRATION CARD

OFFICE USE ONLY

WARNING: Any person who supplies any information knowing it to be false, is subject upon conviction to imprisonment for not more than five years or to a fine of not more than $100,000, or both.

1. NAME (Print or type)
LAST | FIRST | MIDDLE

2. RESIDENCE ADDRESS
NUMBER | STREET OR RT # | APT OR SP # | CITY | ZIP

3. COUNTY

4. MAILING ADDRESS IF DIFFERENT FROM ABOVE

5. PHONE (Optional)

6. PARTY AFFILIATION (IMPORTANT: See POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION section on attached envelope before completing this section.)
(Select One)
☐ ← DEMOCRAT
☐ ← REPUBLICAN
☐ ← NOT AFFILIATED WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY
☐ ← OTHER PARTY ____________________
PRINT OTHER PARTY NAME

7. DATE OF BIRTH
MO / DAY / YEAR

8. PLACE OF BIRTH
CITY STATE

9. SPOUSE'S NAME

10. FATHER'S NAME

11. MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME

12. Have you ever been registered to vote in Oregon? ☐ YES ☐ NO If "YES", complete this section.
COUNTY | NAME ON PREVIOUS REGISTRATION | PREVIOUS ADDRESS (If known)

UNDER PENALTY OF LAW: By signing this card, I certify that I am a citizen of the United States and that I shall have been a resident of Oregon for 20 days before the next election at which I vote, that I shall be at least 18 years of age on or before the date of the next election at which I vote, and that all information I have supplied is true to the best of my knowledge.

13. ______ / ______ / ______
MO DAY YEAR

14. **X** ____________________
YOUR SIGNATURE

SED FORM 134M (REV. 8/87)

DETACH HERE BEFORE INSERTING CARD AND YELLOW COPY INTO ENVELOPE

— DO NOT DETACH —

— INSTRUCTIONS —

DETACH HERE

BEFORE COMPLETING THIS FORM

1. READ ALL INFORMATION ON THE ATTACHED MAILING ENVELOPE.
2. COMPLETELY FILL OUT AND SIGN THE CARD. PLEASE USE BALL POINT PEN OR TYPE.

AFTER COMPLETING THE FORM

1. REMOVE THE STUB AT LEFT. THIS WILL SEPARATE THE CARD AND YELLOW COPY FROM THE RETURN ENVELOPE. REMOVE THE CARBON.
2. REMOVE THESE INSTRUCTIONS BY TEARING ALONG PERFORATION ABOVE.
3. INSERT BOTH THE WHITE CARD AND THE YELLOW COPY INTO RETURN ENVELOPE PROVIDED.
4. PEEL OFF TAPE. FOLD OVER FLAP AND SEAL.
5. AFFIX POSTAGE AND MAIL TO APPROPRIATE ADDRESS.

NOTE: A new registration card will be available soon.

SUMMARY OF VOTER REGISTRATION AND THE VOTING PROCESS IN OREGON

Action	Who	When	How
REGISTERING TO VOTE	Any person who: - Is a citizen of the United States. - Will be 18 or older on or before date of election.	Any time during year. However, you must be registered by the 21st day before any election to vote at that election.	(1) Complete voter registration card; and (2) Deliver to elections office in person not later than 5 p.m. on the 21st day before the election at which you intend to vote; or (3) Mail to appropriate election officer. REMEMBER: Registration delivered by mail must be RECEIVED IN THE OFFICE of the election officer before 5 p.m. on the 21st day before the election at which you intend to vote.
REREGISTERING TO VOTE	Any election who: - Has changed residence or mailing address. - Wishes to change party affiliation. - Has had a name change for any reason.	Any time during year. However, you must be registered by the 21st day before any election to vote at that election.	Reregistration is the same as registering for the first time; see REGISTERING TO VOTE above.
VOTING AT THE POLLING PLACE	Any elector whose name is printed in the poll book.	Between 7 a.m. and 8 p.m. on election day.	(1) Appear personally before the election board at the polling place for your precinct. (2) State your full name and address to the poll book clerk. (3) Sign the poll book. (4) Mark your ballot and return to the appropriate election board clerk. (5) Drop your ballot into the ballot box or watch as the election board clerk drops your ballot into the ballot box.

Action	Who	When	How
VOTING BY ABSENTEE BALLOT	Any elector who will not be able to appear personally at the polling place on the day of the election.	Until the polls close.	(1) Make written application for absentee ballot personally or by mail to county election officer. Absentee ballots will not be mailed after the 5th day before an election. (2) Mark your ballot and seal in the return envelope. (3) Sign the statement on the return envelope and return it personally or by mail to the office of the election officer not later than 8 p.m. on election day.
VOTING BY MAIL	Any elector of a county conducting an election entirely by mail.	From the time the election officer mails the ballots (between the 20th and 5th day before the election) until 8 p.m. on election day.	(1) Receive your ballot packet which is automatically sent to all electors by the county election officer. (2) Mark your ballot, seal in the secrecy envelope and place in the return envelope. (3) Seal the return envelope, sign the statement and return it personally or by mail to the office of the election officer not later than 8 p.m. on election day.

FROM 1988 Oregon Electors' Manual.

STATE OF OREGON

ALL
COUNTIES

VOTER REGISTRATION BY MAIL

Oregon's Registration by Mail Law. A qualified person may complete this form, sign the certification and mail it to the county elections office.
No witness is required. The date of registration is the date on which the legible, accurate and complete registration card is received in the **appropriate elections office**. A completed form delivered **by mail** must be received **in the county elections office** not later than **5 p.m. on the 21st day before** the election at which the person intends to vote.

YOU MAY REGISTER TO VOTE IF:

1 YOU ARE A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES
2 YOU WILL BE 18 OR OLDER ON ELECTION DAY, AND
3 YOU ARE A RESIDENT OF OREGON

YOU MUST RE-REGISTER IF:

1 YOUR RESIDENCE OR MAILING ADDRESS CHANGES FOR ANY REASON. HOWEVER, IF YOU HAVE MOVED AFTER THE 40TH DAY BEFORE AN ELECTION AND YOU HAVE NOT RE-REGISTERED, CONTACT YOUR COUNTY ELECTIONS OFFICE FOR SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS.
2 YOUR NAME CHANGES FOR ANY REASON, OR
3 YOU WISH TO CHANGE POLITICAL AFFILIATION

HOW TO REGISTER OR RE-REGISTER

—COMPLETE the voter registration card, **and**
—DELIVER the completed card to the elections office in person not later than 5 p.m. on the 21st day before the election at which you intend to vote.

———————— OR ————————

—MAIL the completed card to the appropriate elections office.
REMEMBER: A registration delivered by mail must be RECEIVED IN THE OFFICE of the elections officer before 5 p.m. on the 21st day before the election at which you intend to vote.

POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION:

ON YOUR REGISTRATION, If you select:	AT THE PRIMARY ELECTION, You may vote on:
DEMOCRAT	Democrat and Nonpartisan Candidates, Measures
REPUBLICAN	Republican and Nonpartisan Candidates, Measures
NOT AFFILIATED	Nonpartisan Candidates, Measures, **and**, if a party allows participation, Democrat or Republican Candidates
OTHER PARTY	Nonpartisan Candidates, Measures

NOTE: If registered in a party you may not change any information in the "Party Affiliation" section of your voter registration card after the 46th day before any Primary Election.

YOUR VOTER REGISTRATION IS IMPORTANT
FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY
ERRORS OR MISSING INFORMATION WILL RESULT IN YOUR REGISTRATION BEING REJECTED

FIND YOUR COUNTY'S ADDRESS AND ZIP BELOW. WRITE THEM IN THE SPACES PROVIDED ON THE FRONT OF THIS ENVELOPE.

COUNTY	CITY	PHONE	ZIP
Baker	1995 3rd Street Baker	523-6414 ext 211	97814-3398
Benton	Corvallis	757-6756	97330
Clackamas	825 Portland Ave Gladstone	655-8510	97027
Clatsop	Astoria	325-8605	97103
Columbia	St. Helens	397-3874	97051-2089
Coos	Coquille	396-3121 ext 301	97423
Crook	Prineville	447-6553	97754
Curry	Gold Beach	247-7011 ext 223	97444
Deschutes	Bend	388-6547	97701
Douglas	PO Box 10 Roseburg	440-4252	97470
Gilliam	Condon	384-2311	97823-0427
Grant	Canyon City	575-1675	97820
Harney	Burns	573-6641	97720
Hood River	Hood River	386-1442	97031-2093
Jackson	Medford	776-7181	97501
Jefferson	Madras	475-2317	97741
Josephine	PO Box 69 Grants Pass	474-5243	97526-0203
Klamath	Klamath Falls	882-2501 ext 157	97601
Lake	Lakeview	947-2239	97630
Lane	135 East 6th Eugene	687-4234	97401
Lincoln	225 W. Olive Newport	265-6611 ext 348	97365

COUNTY	CITY	PHONE	ZIP
Linn	Albany	[illegible]	[illegible]
Malheur	Vale	473 [illegible]	[illegible]
Marion	3180 Center St. NE Salem	[illegible]	[illegible]
Morrow	Heppner	[illegible]	[illegible]
Multnomah	1040 SE Morrison Portland	248 [illegible]	[illegible]
Polk	Dallas	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sherman	PO Box 365 Moro	565-3606	97039
Tillamook	201 Laurel Ave Tillamook	842-3402	97141
Umatilla	PO Box 1227 Pendleton	276-7111 ext 254	97801
Union	1100 L St La Grande	963-1006	97850
Wallowa	PO Box 160 Enterprise	426-3226	97828
Wasco	The Dalles	296-6159	97058
Washington	345 E. Main St Hillsboro	648-8670	97123
Wheeler	PO Box 327 Fossil	763-2400	97830
Yamhill	McMinnville	472-9371 ext 282	97128

MAIL CARRIER · DELIVER TO ADDRESS ON REVERSE SIDE

LEARNING GUIDE ABOUT VOTING AND REGISTRATION

Using the SUMMARY OF VOTER REGISTRATION AND THE VOTING PROCESS IN OREGON and the information on the Voter Registration Card (pp. 135 and 138), answer the following questions:

1. When can I register to vote?

   You can register to vote up to ______ days before an election. You must be at least _____ years old, a ________________ of the United States, and a ____________ of Oregon on election day.

2. How do I register to vote?

   Complete a ____________ _____________________ Card and mail or deliver it to the ____________________________________. It must arrive by _________ p.m. on the ________ day before the election.

3. Look at the top of the Voter Registration Card that you filled out on page 135. What is the penalty for providing false information on the card?

   "Any person who supplies any information knowing it to be false, is subject upon conviction to ____________________ for not more than _________ years or to a _____________ of not more than ____________ or both."

4. Find your county on the back of the Voter Registration Card on the opposite page (p. 138). What is the address of your county election officer?

   COUNTY ELECTIONS DEPARTMENT

   ____

   ____________________________, OREGON _____________
   City Zip

5. Do I only have to register to vote once?

   Yes, UNLESS you change your _______________,___________________ or ___________________________. Then you need to mail or ____________ in person a new Voter Registration Card to your county election officer by the _________ day before any election to vote in that election.

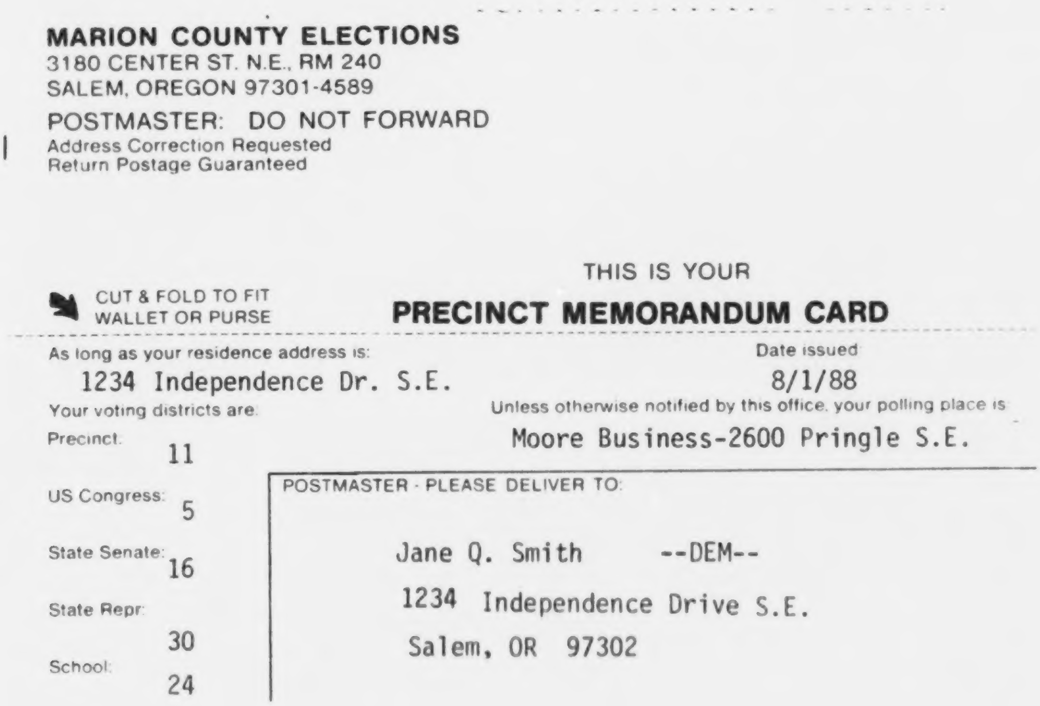
6. How do I know where to vote on election day?

State and local voters' pamphlets will list __________ places for precincts in your area. Your local ________________ may also print the polling places before an election. (See opposite page.)

Polling places are identified by precinct number. To find out your precinct number, keep your ___________ Memorandum Card handy. You will receive one after you've sent in your Voter Registration Card. The Precinct Memorandum Card may list your polling place as well.

7. Study the Precinct Memorandum Card below.

What is Jane Smith's precinct number? ______________
In what Congressional district is she? ______________
In what State Senate district? ______________
In what State Representative district? ______________
In what school district? ______________
What is Jane's political party affiliation? ______________
At what polling place will Jane vote? ______________



MARION COUNTY ELECTIONS
3180 CENTER ST. N.E., RM 240
SALEM, OREGON 97301-4589

POSTMASTER: DO NOT FORWARD
Address Correction Requested
Return Postage Guaranteed

CUT & FOLD TO FIT
WALLET OR PURSE

THIS IS YOUR
PRECINCT MEMORANDUM CARD

As long as your residence address is:
1234 Independence Dr. S.E.

Date issued
8/1/88

Your voting districts are:

Unless otherwise notified by this office, your polling place is:
Moore Business-2600 Pringle S.E.

Precinct: 11
US Congress: 5
State Senate: 16
State Repr: 30
School: 24

POSTMASTER - PLEASE DELIVER TO:

Jane Q. Smith --DEM--
1234 Independence Drive S.E.
Salem, OR 97302

8. When can I vote?

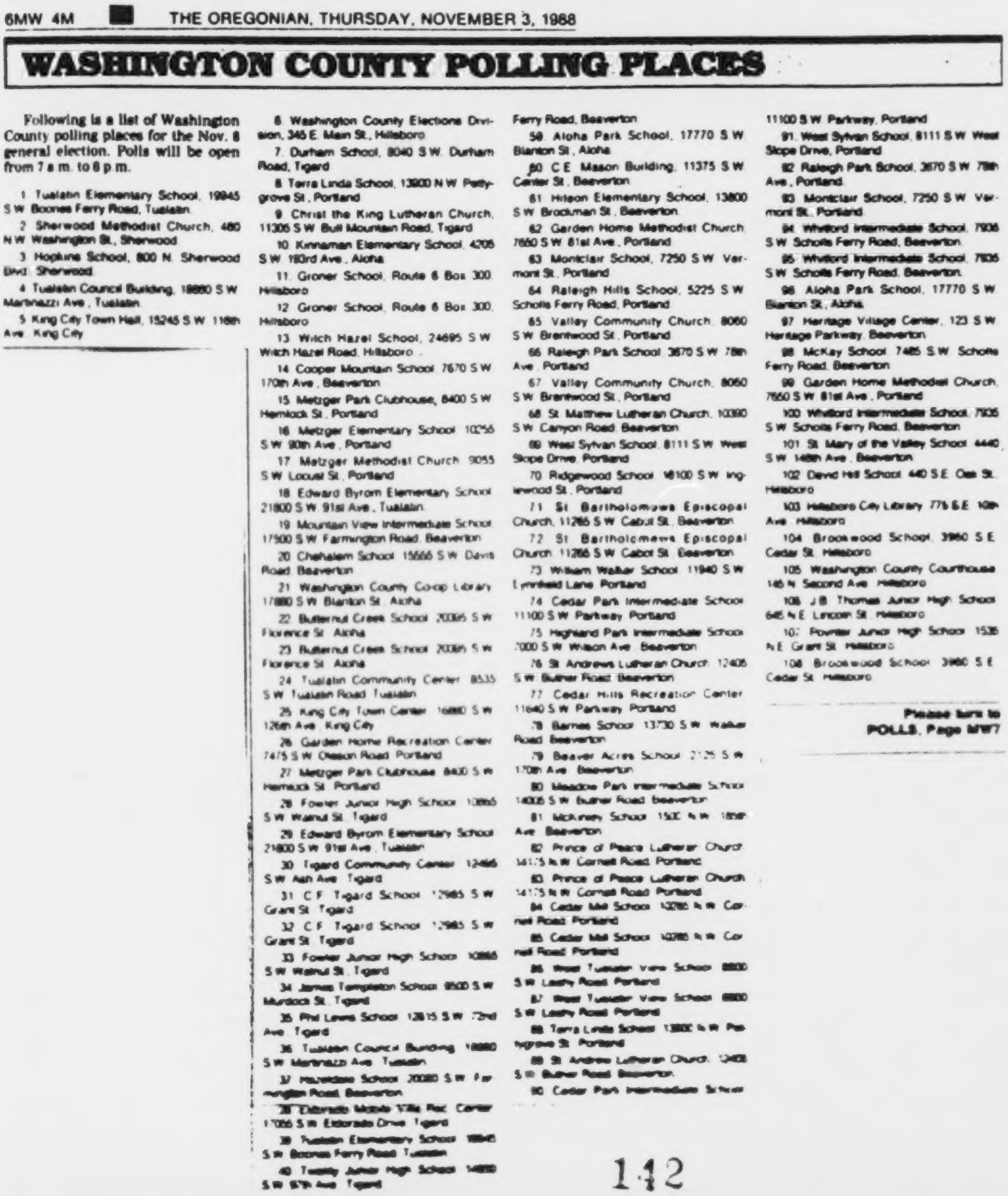
On election day, between ______:00 a.m. and _______:00 p.m.

9. What will happen when I arrive at my polling place?

You will state your __________________ to the clerk. (S)he will have you sign the ________________________ __________________________. You will then be given a ____________________ to mark at a private voting booth. Return it to the clerk. (S)he will drop it (or have YOU drop it) into the _________________________ _________________.

10. What happens if I'm busy, out of town, or have any other reason that I can't go to my polling place on election day?

You can still vote by __ ________________________ ballot.



6MW 4M THE OREGONIAN, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1988

WASHINGTON COUNTY POLLING PLACES

Following is a list of Washington County polling places for the Nov. 8 general election. Polls will be open from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m.

1 Tualatin Elementary School, 19945 S W Boones Ferry Road, Tualatin.

2 Sherwood Methodist Church, 480 N W Washington St., Sherwood

3 Hopkins School, 800 N. Sherwood Blvd. Sherwood

4 Tualatin Council Building, 18880 S W Martinazzi Ave., Tualatin.

5 King City Town Hall, 15245 S W 116th Ave. King City

6 Washington County Elections Division, 345 E. Main St., Hillsboro

7. Durham School, 8040 S W. Durham Road, Tigard

8 Terra Linda School, 13800 N W Pettygrove St., Portland

9 Christ the King Lutheran Church, 11305 S W Bull Mountain Road, Tigard

10 Kinnaman Elementary School, 4205 S W 180rd Ave., Aloha

11 Groner School, Route 6 Box 300, Hillsboro

12 Groner School, Route 6 Box 300, Hillsboro

13 Witch Hazel School, 24695 S W Witch Hazel Road, Hillsboro

14 Cooper Mountain School 7670 S W 170th Ave., Beaverton

15 Metzger Park Clubhouse, 8400 S W Hemlock St., Portland

16 Metzger Elementary School 10256 S W 90th Ave., Portland

17 Metzger Methodist Church 9055 S W Locust St., Portland

18 Edward Byrom Elementary School 21800 S W 91st Ave., Tualatin

19 Mountain View Intermediate School 17500 S W Farmington Road, Beaverton

20 Chehalem School 15555 S W Davis Road Beaverton

21 Washington County Co-op Library 17880 S W Blanton St. Aloha

22 Butternut Creek School 20395 S W Florence St. Aloha

23 Butternut Creek School 20395 S W Florence St. Aloha

24 Tualatin Community Center 8535 S W Tualatin Road Tualatin

25 King City Town Center 16880 S W 126th Ave. King City

26 Garden Home Recreation Center 7475 S W Oleson Road Portland

27 Metzger Park Clubhouse 8400 S W Hemlock St. Portland

28 Fowler Junior High School 10865 S W Walnut St. Tigard

29 Edward Byrom Elementary School 21800 S W 91st Ave. Tualatin

30 Tigard Community Center 12466 S W Ash Ave. Tigard

31 C F Tigard School 12985 S W Grant St. Tigard

32 C F Tigard School 12985 S W Grant St. Tigard

33 Fowler Junior High School 10865 S W Walnut St. Tigard

34 James Templeton School 9500 S W Murdock St. Tigard

35 Phil Lewis School 12815 S W 72nd Ave. Tigard

36 Tualatin Council Building 18880 S W Martinazzi Ave. Tualatin

37 Hazeldale School 20080 S W Farmington Road, Beaverton

38 Eldorado Mobile Villa Rec. Center 17055 S W Eldorado Drive Tigard

39 Tualatin Elementary School 19945 S W Boones Ferry Road Tualatin

40 Twality Junior High School 14650 S W 97th Ave. Tigard

Ferry Road, Beaverton

59. Aloha Park School, 17770 S W. Blanton St., Aloha

60 C E Mason Building, 11375 S W Center St., Beaverton

61 Hiteon Elementary School, 13800 S W Brockman St., Beaverton

62 Garden Home Methodist Church, 7660 S W 81st Ave., Portland

63 Montclair School, 7250 S W Vermont St., Portland

64 Raleigh Hills School, 5225 S W Scholls Ferry Road, Portland

65 Valley Community Church, 8060 S W Brentwood St., Portland

66 Raleigh Park School 3670 S W 78th Ave., Portland

67 Valley Community Church, 8060 S W Brentwood St., Portland

68 St. Matthew Lutheran Church, 10390 S W Canyon Road Beaverton

69 West Sylvan School, 8111 S W West Slope Drive, Portland

70 Ridgewood School 10100 S W Inglewood St., Portland

71 St Bartholomews Episcopal Church, 11265 S W Cabot St., Beaverton

72 St Bartholomews Episcopal Church 11265 S W Cabot St. Beaverton

73 William Walker School 11940 S W Lynnfield Lane Portland

74 Cedar Park Intermediate School 11100 S W Parkway Portland

75 Highland Park Intermediate School 7000 S W Wilson Ave. Beaverton

76 St Andrews Lutheran Church 12405 S W Butner Road Beaverton

77 Cedar Hills Recreation Center 11640 S W Parkway Portland

78 Barnes School 13730 S W Walker Road Beaverton

79 Beaver Acres School 2125 S W 170th Ave. Beaverton

80 Meadow Park Intermediate School 14005 S W Butner Road Beaverton

81 McKinley School 1500 N W 185th Ave. Beaverton

82 Prince of Peace Lutheran Church 14175 N W Cornell Road Portland

83 Prince of Peace Lutheran Church 14175 N W Cornell Road Portland

84 Cedar Mill School 10265 N W Cornell Road Portland

85 Cedar Mill School 10265 N W Cornell Road Portland

86 West Tualatin View School 8800 S W Leahy Road Portland

87 West Tualatin View School 8800 S W Leahy Road Portland

88 Terra Linda School 13800 N W Pettygrove St. Portland

89 St Andrew Lutheran Church 12405 S W Butner Road Beaverton

90 Cedar Park Intermediate School 11100 S W. Parkway, Portland

91. West Sylvan School, 8111 S W West Slope Drive, Portland

92 Raleigh Park School, 3670 S W 78th Ave., Portland

93 Montclair School, 7250 S W Vermont St., Portland

94 Whitford Intermediate School, 7935 S W Scholls Ferry Road, Beaverton

95 Whitford Intermediate School, 7935 S W Scholls Ferry Road, Beaverton

96 Aloha Park School, 17770 S W Blanton St., Aloha

97 Heritage Village Center, 123 S W Heritage Parkway, Beaverton

98 McKay School 7485 S W Scholls Ferry Road, Beaverton

99 Garden Home Methodist Church, 7660 S W 81st Ave., Portland

100 Whitford Intermediate School, 7935 S W Scholls Ferry Road, Beaverton

101 St. Mary of the Valley School 4440 S W 148th Ave., Beaverton

102 David Hill School 440 S.E. Oak St. Hillsboro

103 Hillsboro City Library 775 S.E. 10th Ave. Hillsboro

104 Brookwood School, 3960 S.E. Cedar St. Hillsboro

105 Washington County Courthouse 145 N Second Ave. Hillsboro

106 J.B. Thomas Junior High School 645 N.E. Lincoln St. Hillsboro

107 Poynter Junior High School 1535 N.E. Grant St. Hillsboro

108 Brookwood School 3960 S.E. Cedar St. Hillsboro

Please turn to POLLS, Page MW7

11. How do I get an absentee ballot?

    Fill out an application (see below) and mail or deliver it to the ____________________ election officer.

12. What is the last day I can request an absentee ballot?

    Absentee ballots will not be mailed after the ________ day before an election.

13. When can I return my absentee ballot?

    Absentee ballots can arrive at the elections office until _____:00 p.m. on election day. (If you mail your ballot, make sure you do so in plenty of time!)

14. After I mark my absentee ballot, what must I remember to do before I return it?

    You MUST ___________ the statement on the return envelope. If you don't, your ballot will not be counted!!

15. But doesn't everyone vote by mail these days anyway?

    No, only certain elections are conducted entirely by mail. In a vote-by-mail election, you may return your ballot from the time you receive it up until ________:00 p.m. on __________ day.

MAIL TO:

Marion County Clerk - Elections Division
3180 Center St. N.E. Room 240
Salem, Oregon 97301-4589

PRECINCT ________________

PARTY ________________

APPLICATION FOR ABSENTEE BALLOT

I, ________________________________, a qualified voter of Marion County, State of Oregon,
First Applicant *(Please Print)*

____
Second Applicant *(Please Print)*

hereby apply for an absentee ballot for the election to be held **November 8, 1988.**

MAIL BALLOT TO:

Name (Please Print) First Applicant ________________ Signature of First Applicant ________________

Name (Please Print) Second Applicant ________________ Signature of Second Applicant ________________

Mailing Address ________________ Residence Address ________________

City State Zip Code ________________ City State Zip Code ________________

16. In a vote-by-mail election, do I have to mail my ballot, or can I return it in person to the county elections office?

In a vote-by-mail election, you ________ return your ballot in person.

17. Will my ballot count in a vote-by-mail election if I forget to sign the statement on the return envelope?

______________ (Yes or No)

ELECTION LAWS ARE CONSTANTLY CHANGING. The following index of legislative measures shows the bills which were introduced during the 1989 regular session of the Oregon State Legislature. The article below (Statesman Journal, July 10, 1989) summarizes what happened to three of those bills.

Oregon lawmakers pass myriad bills

The Associated Press

Here are capsule summaries of primary legislation passed by the 1989 Oregon Legislature:

TAXES, FEES

- The state gasoline tax will rise by 2 cents a gallon, to 20 cents, on Jan. 1, 1991. The two-year auto registration fee will increase from $20 to $30 as of Jan. 1, and truck weight-mile taxes will rise proportionately. The increases will yield about $65 million a year for road needs.
- The cigarette tax will rise by 1 cent a pack, to 28 cents, on Nov. 1 to provide added financing for local transportation programs for the handicapped and elderly.
- The cost of a resident angler's license will increase by $2 a year, to $14, for two years to provide added money for fishery programs.
- Income tax payers will get a refund of about $162 million in overcollected taxes when they file their 1989 returns next year.
- The Oregon Peace Institute was added to the organizations to which income tax payers can give part of their tax refunds by checking boxes on their tax returns. A commission is established to decide whether more groups should be allowed into the checkoff program.

CRIME

- A statewide forfeiture law was enacted dealing with government seizure of assets derived from criminal activities.
- State gun laws were revised to raise the waiting period for buying handguns from five to 15 days and to enact uniform statewide standards for obtaining concealed weapons permits.
- A comprehensive sentencing law will make judges' sentences more definite and eliminate the Parole Board's ability to reduce sentences.
- A criminal law against intimidation was broadened to include homosexuality.
- People convicted of aggravated murder will face a possible sentence of life in prison without chance of parole, in addition to the previous sentences of death or life with a possibility of parole.
- Authorities will be allowed to fingerprint juvenile offenders suspected of committing felonies or Class A misdemeanors in a step that could facilitate tracking of gang members.
- The limit on holding juveniles in local detention facilities was increased from eight days to 30 days.
- Child abuse victims will have until age 23, instead of 19, to sue their abusers.
- Hearsay testimony will be permitted in some sex abuse cases when the victim is younger than 10 years old.
- Courts will be able to order convicted sex offenders to undergo tests for acquired immune deficiency syndrome in some cases.
- Law enforcement agencies will be required to compile data on crimes motivated by prejudice based on factors including race, color, religion, national origin and sexual orientation.
- Child abuse victims will be able to testify by closed-circuit television in some cases.
- A new crime of harming a police animal is created.
- Survivors of murder victims will be eligible for payments from the state crime victims' compensation fund.

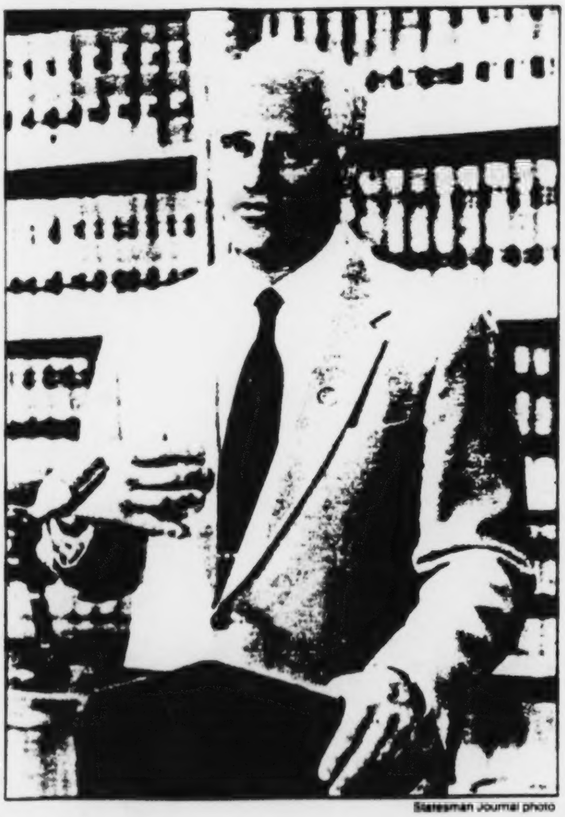
DRUGS

- Possessing less than an ounce of marijuana, a civil offense, will carry a minimum $500 fine and maximum of $1,000. The maximum fine had been $100.
- Marketing drug paraphernalia will be illegal, with state and local authorities allowed to bring civil lawsuits against people selling, delivering or possessing with intent to sell paraphernalia.
- A uniform statewide law was enacted allowing local drug houses to be shut down as public nuisances, replacing a smattering of local ordinances.
- Selling or delivering drugs to minors within 1,000 feet of schools will be a Class A felony with a prison term of up to 20 years and possible $100,000 fine.
- Courts will be able to order parents of delinquent children into alcohol and drug treatment programs when that would be in the child's best interests.
- Free distribution of tobacco products to minors was outlawed, as is sales of single cigarettes.
- Police are allowed to use hidden listening devices known as "body wires" without getting court orders in felony cases when drugs are involved or lives are in danger.

ELECTIONS

- Motorists will be able to register to vote along with doing their other business at Motor Vehicles Division offices.
- Statewide elected officials and candidates for those offices will be prohibited from soliciting campaign contributions during legislative sessions. The ban previously applied just to legislators.
- Gov. Neil Goldschmidt vetoed a bill that would have allowed people to become permanent absentee voters.

Turn to **Summary**, Page 2D.



Statesman Journal photo

Gov. Neil Goldschmidt vetoed a bill that would have allowed people to become permanent absentee voters.

ELDERLY AND HANDICAPPED SPECIAL TRANSPORTATION FUND
- Disapproving funding for services or providers, SB 53

ELECTION COMMISSION, OREGON
- (Generally), SB 652, SJR 21

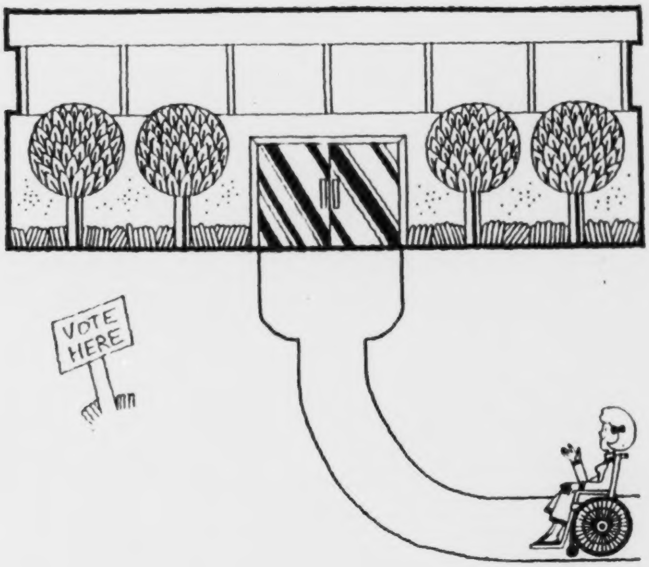
ELECTIONS
- Absence and absentees
  - (Generally), SB 641
  - Absentee voters, permanent, SB 221
  - Ballots, printing, 45 days before election, HB 2830
- Agricultural employes, labor representation, SB 553
- Ballots
  - Casting, electors, SB 222
  - Design, HB 3254
  - Design requirements, rule, SB 1061
  - Sample
    - Distributing, SB 369
    - Furnishing, SB 370
- Campaign events, wine or malt beverage sales, licensees, HB 2779
- Campaign finances, see **POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES**, generally
- Candidate occupation and education, statement, nominating petition or declaration of candidacy, SB 232
- Complaints
  - Alleged violations (time limitations), SB 25, SB 291
  - Anonymous, SB 657
- Computerized Voting, Interim Legislative Task Force on, establishment, HB 2603
- Cost, payment, General Fund, SB 228
- Dates
  - Certain elections, HB 2830
  - Reduction, number, SB 641
- Education, State Board, seven member nonpartisan, HB 2657
- Election boards, SB 370
- Electronic facsimile transmission machines, filing documents, certain, SB 253
- Fluoridation, drinking water, HB 2645, HB 3117
- Independent voters, special registration, political party membership, HB 3315
- Initiative and referendum, see **INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM**, generally
- Judges, incumbents (reference deletion), SB 787, HB 3331
- Local school committees, HB 3071
- Mail
  - Selecting one county, Secretary of State, SB 656
  - Voting, primary and general election, HB 2376
- Nonpartisan office, election, majority of votes cast at primary, SB 135
- Party affiliation, candidates, major party, time, HB 2831
- Penalty, civil, violations, SB 651
- Peoples utility districts, formation, expenses, HB 2732
- Petition signatures, county home rule, nominating petitions, peoples utility district dissolution, SB 131
- Political committees, name, SB 268
- Political contributions and expenditures, see **POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES**, generally
- Political parties, see **POLITICAL PARTIES**, generally
- Primaries
  - (Generally), HB 3110
  - Independent electors, allowing vote, major political parties, SB 227
  - Independent voters, special registration, political party membership, HB 3315
  - Names, rotation and alphabet, HB 2372
  - Political party affiliation, changing, SB 223
  - Presidential, HB 3119
  - Two, presidential and biennial, HB 2597, HB 3065
- Publications, political, payment source, statement, HB 3011
- Reapportionment
  - Election Commission, Oregon, SJR 21
  - Interim Committee on Reapportionment, creation, SJR 23
  - Metropolitan service districts, SB 257, HB 3101
  - Reapportionment Commission, reapportionment plan, HB 2787
  - Reapportionment planning, Legislative Administration Committee, appropriation, HB 5055
  - Rules, Secretary of State, SB 22
- Recall
  - Petition opponents, contribution and expenditure reports, filing, HB 2160
  - Petitions, original signatures, requirement, HB 2158
- Registration
  - (Generally), SB 132, SB 225, HB 2159
  - Computer file, development, SB 1111
  - Day of election, HJR 48
  - Days before election, SB 648, SJR 18
  - Human Resources Department clients, SB 1063
  - List of electors, requests and distribution, HB 2161
  - Motor Vehicles Division, persons applying for license, etc., SB 1062, HB 3159
  - No evidence, granting right to vote, HB 2959
  - Reregistering, vote on same date, SB 222
- Results, abstract, delivery time, SB 399
- Simulated election, minors, SB 655
- Special, measure referral
  - Common School Fund moneys forfeiture and log exports, HB 2371
  - Correctional Facilities Capital Construction Account, SB 662
  - Criminal laws, principles, protection of society, SJR 17, HJR 27
  - Fuel taxes
    - Leaking underground storage tanks, use, HJR 35
    - Public transportation, moneys use, HJR 34
  - International Port of Coos Bay, commissioners, SB 192
  - Legislature, annual sessions, SJR 11, HJR 21, HJR 25, HJR 28
  - Lottery funds
    - Anti Crime Trust Fund, HB 2689, HJR 11
    - Correctional facilities, HB 2637, HB 2638, HJR 8, HJR 12
  - School districts, current tax base, establishing, HB 2136, HJR 1
  - School funding, alternatives to property tax, SB 12
  - School operating costs, state contribution, 10 percent, HJR 16
  - Timber, sale or export, SB 128, SJR 8, HJR 6
- Taxation
  - School districts, one year levy, ballot question, SB 723
- Voters pamphlet
  - (Generally), HB 3221
  - Arguments, filing deadline, HB 2730
  - Candidates statement, contents, HB 3152
  - Commercial products, candidate or initiative or referendum petition, arguments in support or opposition, SB 233
  - County pamphlet, county clerk name and address, publication, SB 369
  - Metropolitan service district measure and ballot title, printing, SB 209
  - Quotations attributed to persons, use, SB 726
  - School districts, preparation, HB 2733
  - Space, fee, SB 370
- Voting machines or vote tally systems, audit, random, SB 1113

ELECTIONS DIVISION
- Creation, HB 2153

From Legislative Counsel Committee, Weekly Cumulative Index to Legislative Measures, July 4, 1989.

DID YOU KNOW ... ?

1. You cannot reregister to change your party affiliation or adopt a party affiliation after the 46th day before a primary election.
2. If you change your name, you can still vote once under your previous name, but you will need to reregister for subsequent elections.
3. If you move between 20 and 40 days prior to an election, you need to obtain a certificate of registration from your former county and take the certificate, proof of address, and proof of identity to your new county elections office.
4. If you have a physical handicap and can't mark your ballot, you can take someone with you to the voting booth or ask the clerk for help.
5. Large-type instructions and reading aids are available for the visually impaired at polling places.
6. Voters' Pamphlets are available on cassette tape for the physically handicapped or the visually impaired. Contact the Oregon State Library.
7. Wherever possible, election officers must designate polling places which have special access for the handicapped.



All Marion County Polling Places are handicapped accessible.

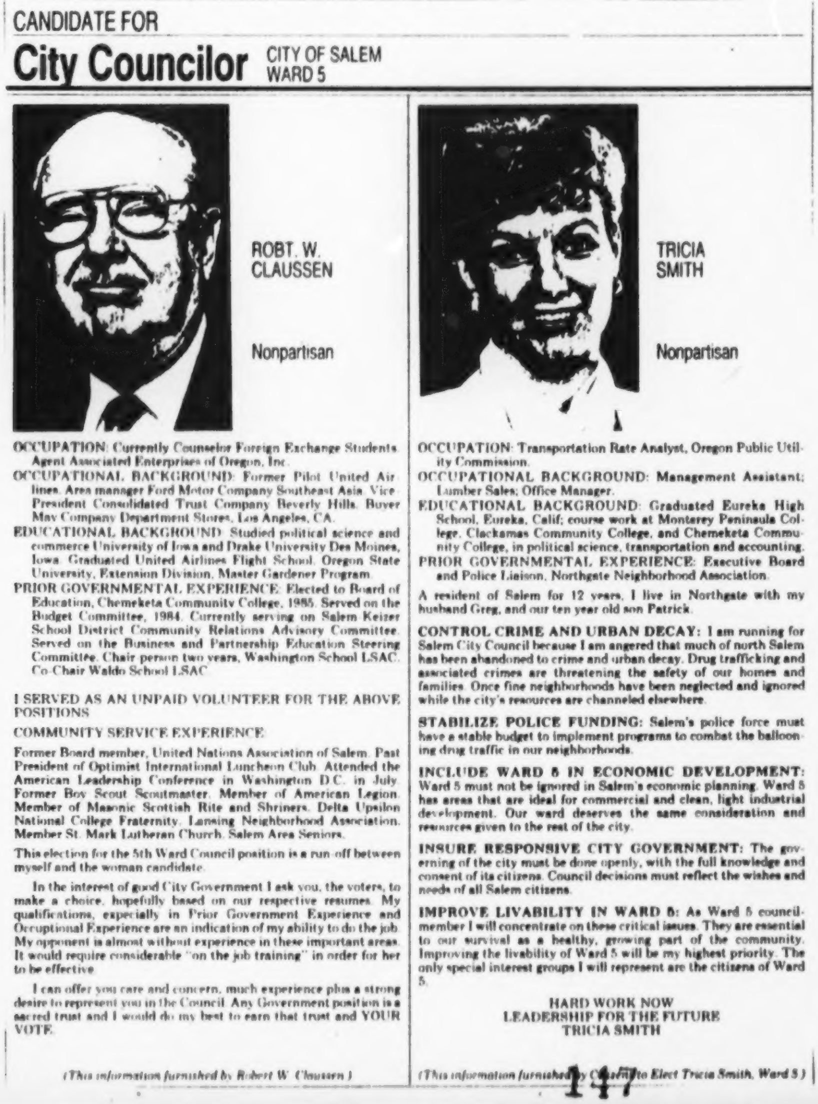
8. If you are a "long term absent elector" (serving in the armed services or temporarily living in a foreign country), you can still vote by absentee ballot.

9. Every September of odd-numbered years, the county election officers update their files of voters. If you have not voted for two years, you will be mailed a notice asking for correction of your address.

10. Convicted felons in Oregon lose their voting rights until they are discharged or paroled, or their conviction is set aside.

11. In primary elections, if you are not affiliated with the Democratic or Republican political parties, you can only vote on ballot measures and for nonpartisan candidates.

Nonpartisan candidates are those who run for offices where candidates are not designated by political party affiliation. Nonpartisan offices include the office of judge, Superintendent of Public Instruction, district attorney, metropolitan service district officer, justice of the peace, and some county and city offices.



CANDIDATE FOR

City Councilor

CITY OF SALEM
WARD 5

ROBT. W.
CLAUSSEN

Nonpartisan

OCCUPATION: Currently Counselor Foreign Exchange Students. Agent Associated Enterprises of Oregon, Inc.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND: Former Pilot United Airlines. Area manager Ford Motor Company Southeast Asia. Vice-President Consolidated Trust Company Beverly Hills. Buyer May Company Department Stores, Los Angeles, CA.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND: Studied political science and commerce University of Iowa and Drake University Des Moines, Iowa. Graduated United Airlines Flight School. Oregon State University, Extension Division, Master Gardener Program.

PRIOR GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE: Elected to Board of Education, Chemeketa Community College, 1985. Served on the Budget Committee, 1984. Currently serving on Salem Keizer School District Community Relations Advisory Committee. Served on the Business and Partnership Education Steering Committee. Chair person two years, Washington School LSAC. Co-Chair Waldo School LSAC.

I SERVED AS AN UNPAID VOLUNTEER FOR THE ABOVE POSITIONS

COMMUNITY SERVICE EXPERIENCE:

Former Board member, United Nations Association of Salem. Past President of Optimist International Luncheon Club. Attended the American Leadership Conference in Washington D.C. in July. Former Boy Scout Scoutmaster. Member of American Legion. Member of Masonic Scottish Rite and Shriners. Delta Upsilon National College Fraternity. Lansing Neighborhood Association. Member St. Mark Lutheran Church. Salem Area Seniors.

This election for the 5th Ward Council position is a run-off between myself and the woman candidate.

In the interest of good City Government I ask you, the voters, to make a choice, hopefully based on our respective resumes. My qualifications, especially in Prior Government Experience and Occuptional Experience are an indication of my ability to do the job. My opponent is almost without experience in these important areas. It would require considerable "on the job training" in order for her to be effective.

I can offer you care and concern, much experience plus a strong desire to represent you in the Council. Any Government position is a sacred trust and I would do my best to earn that trust and YOUR VOTE.

(This information furnished by Robert W. Claussen.)

TRICIA
SMITH

Nonpartisan

OCCUPATION: Transportation Rate Analyst, Oregon Public Utility Commission.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND: Management Assistant; Lumber Sales; Office Manager.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND: Graduated Eureka High School, Eureka, Calif; course work at Monterey Peninsula College, Clackamas Community College, and Chemeketa Community College, in political science, transportation and accounting.

PRIOR GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE: Executive Board and Police Liaison, Northgate Neighborhood Association.

A resident of Salem for 12 years, I live in Northgate with my husband Greg, and our ten year old son Patrick.

CONTROL CRIME AND URBAN DECAY: I am running for Salem City Council because I am angered that much of north Salem has been abandoned to crime and urban decay. Drug trafficking and associated crimes are threatening the safety of our homes and families. Once fine neighborhoods have been neglected and ignored while the city's resources are channeled elsewhere.

STABILIZE POLICE FUNDING: Salem's police force must have a stable budget to implement programs to combat the ballooning drug traffic in our neighborhoods.

INCLUDE WARD 5 IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: Ward 5 must not be ignored in Salem's economic planning. Ward 5 has areas that are ideal for commercial and clean, light industrial development. Our ward deserves the same consideration and resources given to the rest of the city.

INSURE RESPONSIVE CITY GOVERNMENT: The governing of the city must be done openly, with the full knowledge and consent of its citizens. Council decisions must reflect the wishes and needs of all Salem citizens.

IMPROVE LIVABILITY IN WARD 5: As Ward 5 councilmember I will concentrate on these critical issues. They are essential to our survival as a healthy, growing part of the community. Improving the livability of Ward 5 will be my highest priority. The only special interest groups I will represent are the citizens of Ward 5.

HARD WORK NOW
LEADERSHIP FOR THE FUTURE
TRICIA SMITH

(This information furnished by Committee to Elect Tricia Smith, Ward 5.)

12. The county clerk is the chief election officer for the county.

13. The county elections office must check ALL signatures for absentee ballots against the signatures on the Voter Registration Cards which are kept on file.

14. In local and legislative candidate races when there is a tie vote, the law states that the decision of the winner will be made "by lot." For each tie, the county election officer simply flips a coin to decide the winner!

15. There are many different ballots that must be printed, depending on where you live. Your precinct determines who represents you in your school district, city or district, county, state legislature, etc. Do you live within the city limits? What fire district are you in?

    For example, in the 1988 primary election, Marion County printed 354 different styles of ballots!

16. Voting dates in Oregon were consolidated by the state legislature in 1974. The following are the only dates on which elections may be held:

    Fourth Tuesday in March
    Third Tuesday in May
    Last Tuesday in June
    Second Tuesday in August
    Third Tuesday in September
    First Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES FOR EXTRA CREDIT

1. Find out if there has been any evidence of fraud in registration or voting in your county.

2. Organize a mock registration drive for your school prior to a mock election.

3. Make a videotape public service announcement for your local television stations to use with information on voter registration.

4. Interview your County Election Official or invite him/her to speak to your class on the mechanics of running an election.

5. Conduct a poll in your area to see how many eligible adults are registered to vote. Compare your results with state and national figures. (See Section III for statistics about voter registration.)

6. Create a flyer announcing the voter registration cut-off date, who can register, who must reregister, and how to register.

7. Distribute flyers in your community (see #6). Consider targeting young people (18-30), persons who have recently moved, and persons who have married and changed their name.

   CAUTION:

   - It is ILLEGAL to conduct a contest to register persons to vote in Oregon.

   - Leave flyers on porches or at doors. Postal regulations prohibit anything other than mail in any mail box.

   - Have citizens mail in their own registration cards. There have been situations in the past where students have collected, and lost, completed Voter Registration Cards.

   - If students do collect a completed card, it must be turned in to the county elections office within five (5) days.

IDEAS FROM: Oregon Student/Parent Mock Election, Teacher's Guide. (November, 1988)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY:

1. How does voter registration by mail eliminate some of the problems discussed in Part I about the use of literacy tests, poll taxes, etc. to limit voting rights?

2. Why do you suppose people are not allowed to register to vote by phone?

3. Why do you think Oregon decided to move its registration deadline back from election day to 20 days before an election? What are some things that an election officer might need to check to make sure a voter's registration information is valid?

4. What are some special needs of handicapped voters? How are these needs being met by election officials?

5. Why do you think that election officers update their voting files every other year? What happens to people who haven't exercised their right to vote?

6. What is one advantage of being affiliated with the Democratic or Republican parties during primary elections? What is a "nonpartisan" office?

7. In small groups, summarize what you have learned about voter registration and the voting process in Oregon:

   - How do you register to vote?
   - Who is qualified to register to vote in Oregon?
   - When must a voter reregister to vote?
   - When and how does an elector vote by absentee ballot?

ANSWERS TO LEARNING GUIDE ABOUT VOTING AND REGISTRATION (pp. 139-143):

1. 21, 18, citizen, resident
2. Voter Registration, county elections office, 5:00, 21st
3. imprisonment, five, fine, $100,000
4. See page 138 for a list of addresses.
5. residence, party affiliation, name
   deliver, 21st
6. polling, newspaper, Precinct
7. 11, 5, 16, 30, 24, Democrat, Moore Business (2600 Pringle S.E.)
8. 7, 8
9. name, poll book, ballot, ballot box
10. absentee
11. county
12. 5th
13. 8
14. sign
15. 8, election
16. can (may)
17. No

IDEAS FOR QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY:

1. A person's race is not a question when registering by mail.
2. No valid signature can be procured over the phone.
3. See p. 83 for a discussion of changes made in Oregon's residency requirement for voter registration. Election officer would need to check for valid address, age, citizenship, etc.
4. See p. 145 for handicapped voter assistance innovations.
5. Eliminate voters no longer living in county and reduce the chances of voter fraud. Non-voters receive a request for address correction.
6. Voters affiliated with one of the two major political parties can vote for all candidates during a primary election. See p. 146 for an explanation of nonpartisan offices.

C. LESSON II - MARKING YOUR BALLOT

Marking Your Ballot

Punch Card Ballot

Optical Scan Ballot

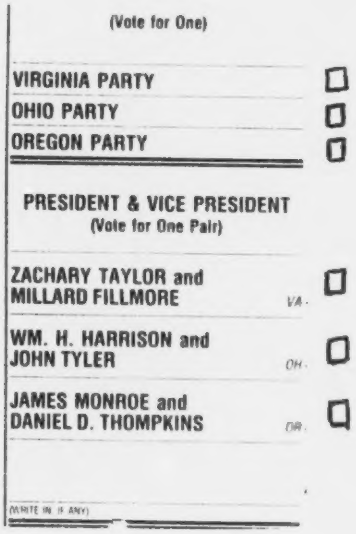
Demonstration Ballot

Objective #2: The learner will demonstrate the ability to:

know how to mark several types of ballots by marking sample ballots.

MARKING YOUR BALLOT

Ballots used to be very simple. You found the name of your candidate and you placed an X in the box. These ballots were counted by hand.



(Vote for One)

VIRGINIA PARTY	☐
OHIO PARTY	☐
OREGON PARTY	☐

PRESIDENT & VICE PRESIDENT
(Vote for One Pair)

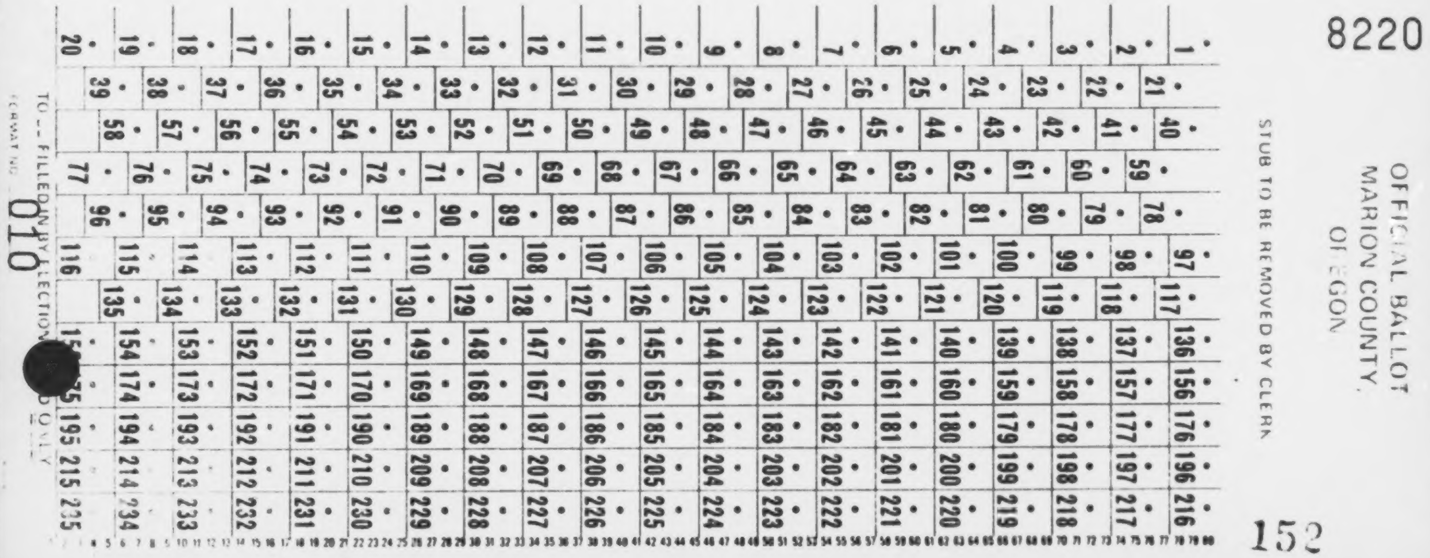
ZACHARY TAYLOR and **MILLARD FILLMORE**	VA	☐
WM. H. HARRISON and **JOHN TYLER**	OH	☐
JAMES MONROE and **DANIEL D. THOMPKINS**	OR	☐

(WRITE IN IF ANY)

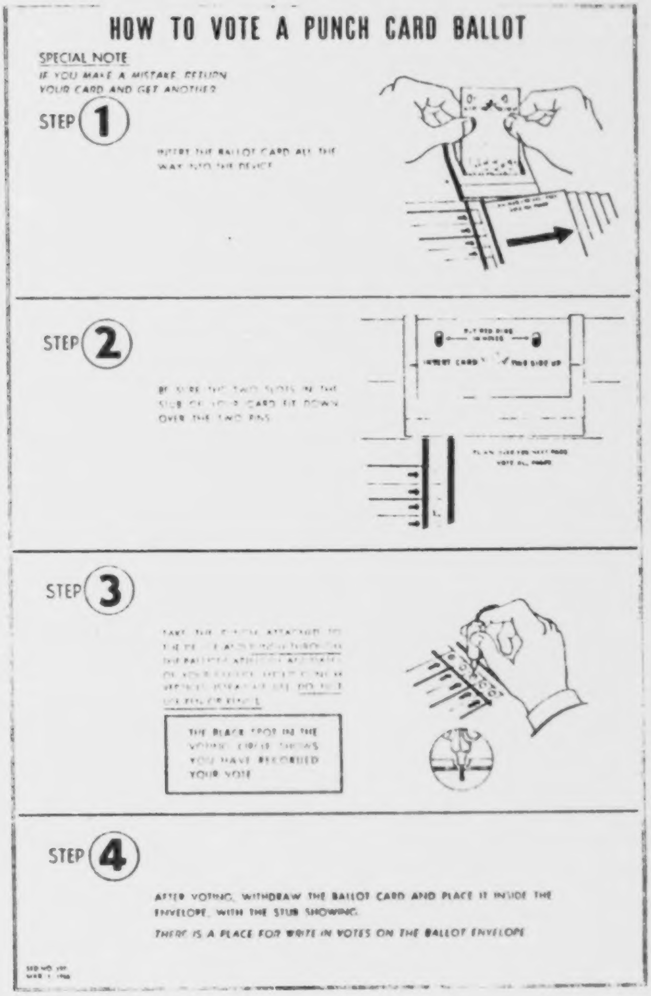
As the population increased and technology improved, new types of ballots have been developed.

These ballots can be counted by machine or computer, so that labor and time are saved.

One type of modern ballot which is frequently used in elections is the punch card ballot. When you go to your polling place, you will be handed a computer punch card. Ballots are attached to devices in the voting booth. In the voting booth, you insert the computer punch card into a slot in the device under the ballot. You then take a stylus and punch holes in the punch card. The holes in the computer punch card correspond to candidates and issue choices on the ballot.


8220
OFFICIAL BALLOT
MARION COUNTY,
OREGON
STUB TO BE REMOVED BY CLERK
TO BE FILLED IN BY ELECTION ... ONLY
FORMAT NO
010
152

At the General Election of 1972 the electors of Marion County will cast their votes on the equipment illustrated below. This page is inserted into the Voters Pamphlet as an aid to those of you who will be using this equipment for the first time.



HOW TO VOTE A PUNCH CARD BALLOT

SPECIAL NOTE

IF YOU MAKE A MISTAKE, RETURN YOUR CARD AND GET ANOTHER

STEP ①

INSERT THE BALLOT CARD ALL THE WAY INTO THE DEVICE

STEP ②

BE SURE THE TWO SLOTS IN THE STUB OF YOUR CARD FIT DOWN OVER THE TWO PINS

INSERT CARD
THIS SIDE UP

STEP ③

TAKE THE [illegible] ATTACHED TO THE [illegible] DO NOT [illegible]

THE BLACK SPOT IN THE VOTING CIRCLE SHOWS YOU HAVE RECORDED YOUR VOTE

STEP ④

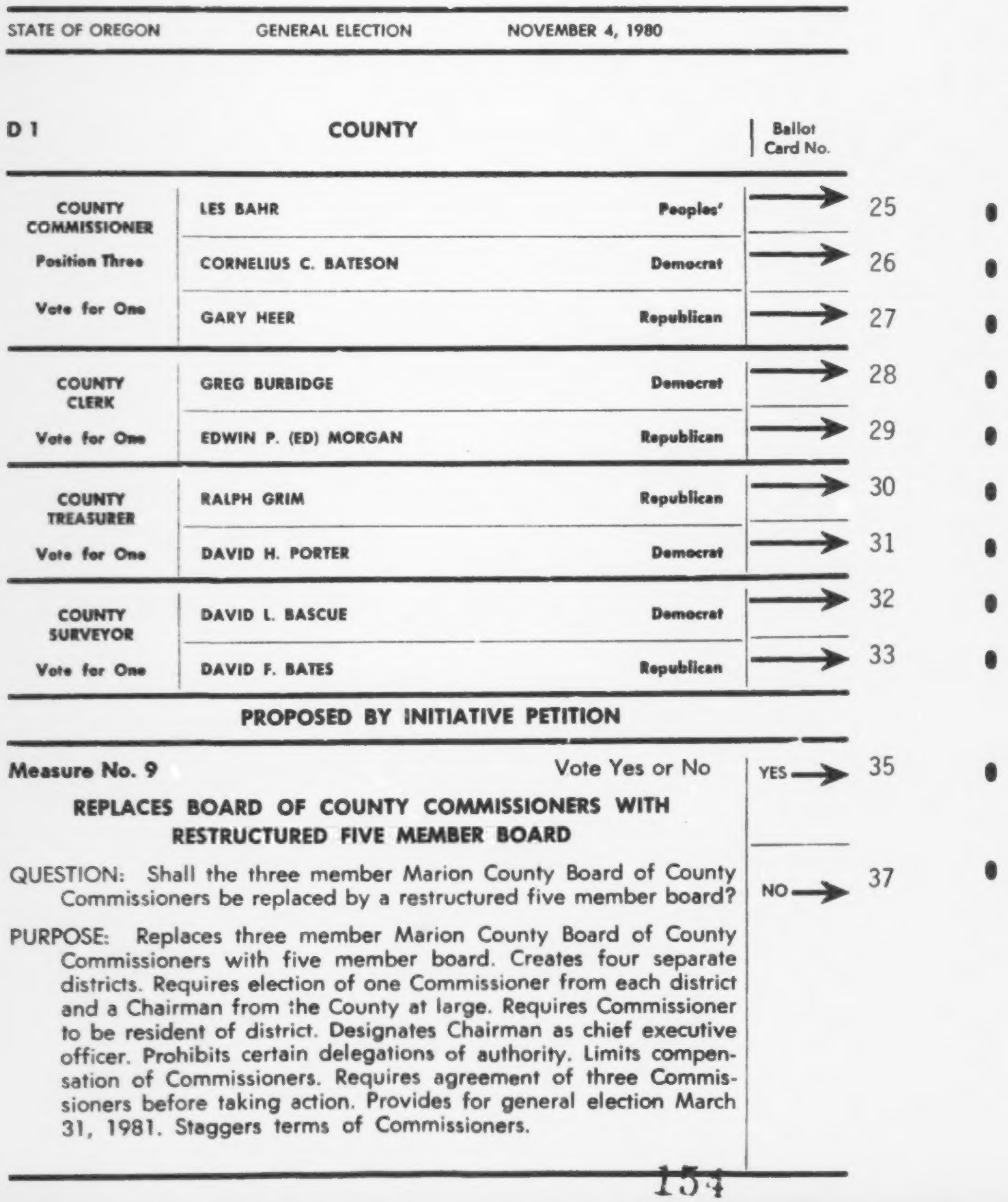
AFTER VOTING, WITHDRAW THE BALLOT CARD AND PLACE IT INSIDE THE ENVELOPE, WITH THE STUB SHOWING.

THERE IS A PLACE FOR WRITE IN VOTES ON THE BALLOT ENVELOPE

Each item on the ballot is labelled with a number which corresponds to the number of a hole in the punch card. When the computer punch card is correctly inserted in the device under the ballot, the stylus punches your choices into the computer card.

For example, a "Yes" vote on Measure 9 corresponds with hole number 35 on your computer punch card. When you punch the stylus next to "Yes," you are actually making a hole in the card underneath. The computer is then programmed to "know" which items on the ballot correspond to each number on the computer card.

Write-in votes must be added in a special section at the bottom of the computer punch card.



STATE OF OREGON GENERAL ELECTION NOVEMBER 4, 1980

D 1	**COUNTY**		Ballot Card No.	
COUNTY COMMISSIONER	**LES BAHR**	**Peoples'**	→	25 ●
Position Three	**CORNELIUS C. BATESON**	**Democrat**	→	26 ●
Vote for One	**GARY HEER**	**Republican**	→	27 ●
COUNTY CLERK	**GREG BURBIDGE**	**Democrat**	→	28 ●
Vote for One	**EDWIN P. (ED) MORGAN**	**Republican**	→	29 ●
COUNTY TREASURER	**RALPH GRIM**	**Republican**	→	30 ●
Vote for One	**DAVID H. PORTER**	**Democrat**	→	31 ●
COUNTY SURVEYOR	**DAVID L. BASCUE**	**Democrat**	→	32 ●
Vote for One	**DAVID F. BATES**	**Republican**	→	33 ●

PROPOSED BY INITIATIVE PETITION

Measure No. 9 Vote Yes or No

REPLACES BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS WITH RESTRUCTURED FIVE MEMBER BOARD

QUESTION: Shall the three member Marion County Board of County Commissioners be replaced by a restructured five member board?

PURPOSE: Replaces three member Marion County Board of County Commissioners with five member board. Creates four separate districts. Requires election of one Commissioner from each district and a Chairman from the County at large. Requires Commissioner to be resident of district. Designates Chairman as chief executive officer. Prohibits certain delegations of authority. Limits compensation of Commissioners. Requires agreement of three Commissioners before taking action. Provides for general election March 31, 1981. Staggers terms of Commissioners.

YES → 35 ●

NO → 37 ●

Another new ballot is called the optical scan ballot. It uses a special scanning machine to "read" ballots, much like scantron machines read tests at school! This ballot has the advantages of saving time and labor. It has the additional advantage of allowing the voter to actually mark ON THE BALLOT. This means less confusion, particularly when ballots are sent to homes as absentee ballots or in vote-by-mail elections.

Write-in votes can be written on the ballot itself under other candidates in each section.

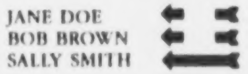
Marion County has adopted the optical scan ballot. The County has purchased four scanning machines which are operated on election night by eight election officials. In an average election, it takes 3-4 hours to count all the ballots in the county by machine.

VOTING INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NOVEMBER 8, 1988 GENERAL ELECTION
MARION COUNTY, OREGON

VOTING YOUR BALLOT AT THE POLLING PLACE

After signing the poll book each voter will be given a ballot, containing all the candidates and measures for which the voter is eligible, as well as a ballot secrecy protector. Take both the ballot and the secrecy protector to the voting booth.

To vote for a candidate whose name appears on the ballot, simply complete the arrow next to the name of the person with the ballot marking instrument in the voting booth.



To vote for a candidate **WHOSE NAME DOES NOT APPEAR ON THE BALLOT,** simply write the person's name on the line provided under that office heading labeled "Write-in," then complete the arrow pointing next to the write-in line. **COMPLETING THE ARROW POINTING TO THE WRITE-IN LINE IS VERY IMPORTANT IF YOU WRITE IN A CANDIDATE AS THE ARROW TELLS THE COMPUTER THAT A WRITE-IN VOTE HAS BEEN CAST AND NEEDS TO BE TALLIED MANUALLY!**

To vote on measures on the ballot, simply complete the arrow pointing to the "YES" or "NO."

REMEMBER TO VOTE BOTH SIDES OF YOUR BALLOT!

CANDIDATES ARE ON THE FRONT AND MEASURES ARE ON THE BACK!

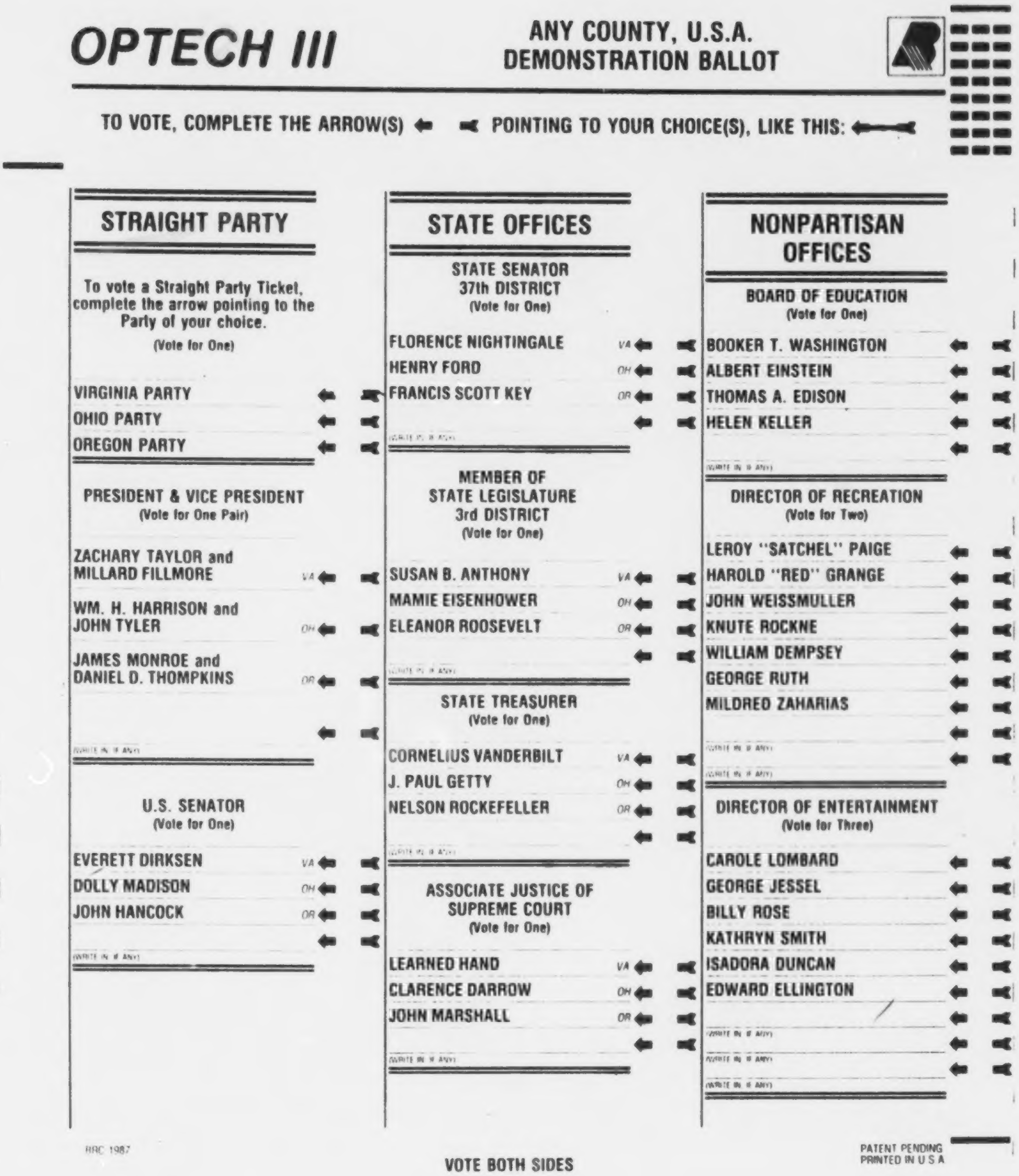
When you have completed voting, place the ballot into the ballot secrecy protector with the stub portion at the top of the ballot visible.

The ballot box attendant will remove the stub and you may insert your ballot directly into the ballot box without violating the ballot secrecy.

If you have any questions about voting call the Marion County Elections Office at 588-5041.

(Hearing impaired voters may use our TTY/TDD line at 588-5610.)

Practice marking the optical scan demonstration ballot on the following pages (pp. 157-158).



OPTECH III

ANY COUNTY, U.S.A.
DEMONSTRATION BALLOT

TO VOTE, COMPLETE THE ARROW(S) ← POINTING TO YOUR CHOICE(S), LIKE THIS: ⟵

STRAIGHT PARTY

To vote a Straight Party Ticket, complete the arrow pointing to the Party of your choice.

(Vote for One)

VIRGINIA PARTY
OHIO PARTY
OREGON PARTY

PRESIDENT & VICE PRESIDENT
(Vote for One Pair)

ZACHARY TAYLOR and MILLARD FILLMORE VA
WM. H. HARRISON and JOHN TYLER OH
JAMES MONROE and DANIEL D. THOMPKINS OR
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

U.S. SENATOR
(Vote for One)

EVERETT DIRKSEN VA
DOLLY MADISON OH
JOHN HANCOCK OR
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

STATE OFFICES

STATE SENATOR
37th DISTRICT
(Vote for One)

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE VA
HENRY FORD OH
FRANCIS SCOTT KEY OR
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

MEMBER OF
STATE LEGISLATURE
3rd DISTRICT
(Vote for One)

SUSAN B. ANTHONY VA
MAMIE EISENHOWER OH
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT OR
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

STATE TREASURER
(Vote for One)

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT VA
J. PAUL GETTY OH
NELSON ROCKEFELLER OR
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF
SUPREME COURT
(Vote for One)

LEARNED HAND VA
CLARENCE DARROW OH
JOHN MARSHALL OR
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

NONPARTISAN OFFICES

BOARD OF EDUCATION
(Vote for One)

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
ALBERT EINSTEIN
THOMAS A. EDISON
HELEN KELLER
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

DIRECTOR OF RECREATION
(Vote for Two)

LEROY "SATCHEL" PAIGE
HAROLD "RED" GRANGE
JOHN WEISSMULLER
KNUTE ROCKNE
WILLIAM DEMPSEY
GEORGE RUTH
MILDRED ZAHARIAS
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

DIRECTOR OF ENTERTAINMENT
(Vote for Three)

CAROLE LOMBARD
GEORGE JESSEL
BILLY ROSE
KATHRYN SMITH
ISADORA DUNCAN
EDWARD ELLINGTON
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

RRC 1987

VOTE BOTH SIDES

PATENT PENDING
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DEMONSTRATION BALLOT

Business Records Corporation
Election Services Division
328 SOUTH JEFFERSON, CHICAGO, IL 60606
1-312-454-1475 1-800-621-1181

NONPARTISAN JUDICIAL OFFICES

JUDGE OF SUPERIOR COURT 2nd DISTRICT

(Vote for One)

WM. A. DOUGLAS ⬅ ⬅
JOHN BASSETT MOORE ⬅ ⬅
EARL WARREN ⬅ ⬅
JOHN SOLOMON ⬅ ⬅
________ ⬅ ⬅
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

JUDGE OF SUPERIOR COURT 3rd DISTRICT

(Vote for One)

OLIVER HOLMES ⬅ ⬅
GEO. BAER ⬅ ⬅
CARRY NATION ⬅ ⬅
ROGER TANEY ⬅ ⬅
________ ⬅ ⬅
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

JUDGE OF SUPERIOR COURT 4th DISTRICT

(Vote for One)

WM. McADOO ⬅ ⬅
JOHN ARMSTRONG ⬅ ⬅
THOMAS TODD ⬅ ⬅
________ ⬅ ⬅
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

JUDGE OF SUPERIOR COURT 5th DISTRICT

(Vote for One)

SOJOURNER TRUTH ⬅ ⬅
MARY K. MORAN ⬅ ⬅
JAMES KENT ⬅ ⬅
________ ⬅ ⬅
(WRITE IN, IF ANY)

PROPOSITIONS

1. Do you favor closing all polling places simultaneously during Presidential Elections?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

2. Are you in favor of the Federal Reserve Act of 1513 which places the control of all money in the Treasury Department?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

3. Shall there be a Waterway joining the Atlantic and Pacific through the Isthmus of Panama?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

4. Are you in favor of purchasing the territory of Louisiana from France?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

5. Are you in favor of turning all gold over to the Treasury Department (1933)?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

6. Shall there be free navigation on the Mississippi River?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

7. Are you in favor of abolishing the Internal Revenue Service?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

8. Shall the President of The United States be elected for life?
YES ⬅ ⬅
NO ⬅ ⬅

Rev. 8.87/88

VOTE BOTH SIDES

BRC-44

D. LESSON III - RESOURCES: THE OREGON VOTERS' PAMPHLET

Introduction

Ballot Measure
5 Activity

Illustrations:
Secretary of
State and Director,
State Elections
Division

Presidential
Candidates
Activity

Critical Thinking
Activity: Ranking
Concerns in Choosing
A President

Objective #3: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand how to use the following resources which give voters information about candidates and issues by explaining how information is presented in each:

a. Oregon Voters' Pamphlet

Objective #4: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

analyze concerns which voters have in choosing candidates by ranking their own concerns and comparing/contrasting those concerns with the concerns of others.

INTRODUCTION

The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet is published be the Oregon Secretary of State and is sent to each household. Often county clerks also publish voters' pamphlets about county and city candidates and issues.

Ballot measures are usually listed first in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet. A complete statement of the proposed law is printed, followed by an explanation, and arguments for and against the measure. The arguments are usually submitted by concerned citizens, interest groups, or legislators and other government officials who have an interest in the issue.

Study the following pages. Ballot Measure 5 was a referendum measure decided by the voters in the 1988 general election. The issue was whether beer and cigarettes should be taxed to finance collegiate athletics.

After reading the excerpts from the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet, complete the activity below.

BALLOT MEASURE 5 ACTIVITY

In small groups, study Ballot Measure 5. Answer the following questions and report back to the class.

1. Read the title. What is the issue being decided?
2. Read the Explanation. Then read the law itself. Why do you think the Explanation is included in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet?
3. Compare the Explanation and the law. How accurate and complete is the Explanation? Is there anything in the law that you would have added to the Explanation?
4. How understandable is the language of the law? Can the average citizen understand it?
5. Is the Explanation easier to understand?
6. Rewrite the Explanation in your own words.
7. Now look at the Argument in Favor of the act and compare it with the Argument in Opposition. Can you find assertions in the arguments which are based on fact? List them. Now look for arguments which are based on opinion or emotion. List them.
8. Who submitted each argument? Why do you think these people or groups submitted an argument for the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet? What is their interest in the outcome of this election?
9. List any emotion-laden words, phrases or images that you find in the arguments.
10. Which argument did you find most convincing? Why? Did either argument change your mind, or at least make you reconsider your position, about the issue?

CONTINUED

Measure No. 5 STATE OF OREGON

Referred to the Electorate of Oregon by the 1987 Legislature, to be voted on at the General Election, November 8, 1988.

BALLOT TITLE

5 FINANCES INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC FUND BY INCREASING MALT BEVERAGE, CIGARETTE TAXES

YES ☐

NO ☐

QUESTION—Shall taxes on malt beverages (such as beer) and cigarettes be increased in order to finance an Intercollegiate Athletic Fund?

EXPLANATION—Amends Oregon statutes. Increases malt beverage (beer, ale, etc.) tax by 10 cents per gallon. Prohibits further increases in malt beverage tax until after December 1999. Increases cigarette tax by one cent per 20 cigarette package. Money from increased taxes goes into new Intercollegiate Athletic Fund to assist sports programs, profitable or not, at state colleges, universities. State Board of Higher Education divides Fund money based on athletic conferences in which schools compete, and schools' efforts to get private help for sports programs.

ESTIMATE OF FINANCIAL EFFECT—The increase in the tax rate on beer and other malt beverages would raise an estimated $6.0 million next year for the Intercollegiate Athletic Fund. The increase in the tax rate on cigarettes would raise an estimated $2.8 million next year for the Intercollegiate Athletic Fund.

An expected decline in sales of cigarettes and malt beverages due to the tax rate increases for the Intercollegiate Athletic Fund would reduce the revenue to state and local government recipients by an estimated $300,000.

AN ACT

Relating to the Intercollegiate Athletic Fund; creating new provisions; amending ORS 323.030, 323.455, 471.810, 473.030; and appropriating money.

Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon:

SECTION 1. (1) The Intercollegiate Athletic Fund is created separate and distinct from the General Fund. The fund shall consist of revenues credited to it under ORS 323.455 and 471.810 and any other revenues available to the fund. The fund is continuously appropriated to and shall be used by the State Board of Higher Education to fund sports programs at state institutions of higher education. Sixty percent of the revenues in the fund shall be used to fund nonrevenue producing sports and 40 percent shall be used for revenue producing sports.

(2) The State Board of Higher Education shall allocate moneys in the Intercollegiate Athletic Fund among the institutions of higher education under its jurisdiction giving due consideration to:

(a) The athletic conference to which the institution belongs and the relative costs of competing in that conference.

(b) The level of effort being made by the institution to generate funds and support from private sources.

(3) As used in this section, "revenue producing sport" is a sport that produces net revenue over expenditures during a calendar year or if its season extends into two calendar years, produces net revenue over expenditures during the season.

SECTION 2. ORS 323.030 is amended to read:

323.030. (1) Every distributor shall pay a tax upon distributions of cigarettes at the rate of [*13-½*] **14** mills for the distribution of each cigarette in this state.

(2) The taxes imposed by ORS 323.005 to 323.455 and 323.990 are in lieu of all other state, county or municipal taxes on the sale or use of cigarettes.

(3) Any cigarette with respect to which a tax has once been imposed under ORS 323.005 to 323.455 and 323.990 shall not be subject upon a subsequent distribution to the taxes imposed by ORS 323.005 to 323.455 and 323.990.

SECTION 3. ORS 323.455 is amended to read:

323.455 (1) All moneys received by the department from the tax imposed by ORS 323.030 (1) shall be paid over to the State Treasurer to be held in a suspense account established under ORS 293.445. After the payment of refunds, [*twentytwo-twentysevenths*] **twentytwo-twentyeighths** shall be credited to the General Fund, [*two-twentysevenths*] **two-twentyeighths** are appropriated to the cities of this state, [*two-twentysevenths*] **two-twentyeighths** are appropriated to the counties of this state,[*and one-twentyseventh*] **one-twentyeighth** is continuously appropriated to the Public Transit Division of the Department of Transportation for the purpose of financing and improving transportation services for elderly and handicapped individuals as provided in ORS 391.800 to 391.830 **and one-twentyeighths is continuously appropriated to the Intercollegiate Athletic Fund established under section 1 of this 1989 Act.**

(2) The moneys so appropriated to cities and counties shall be paid on a monthly basis within 35 days after the end of the month for which a distribution is made. Each city shall receive such share of the money appropriated to all cities as its population, as determined under ORS 190.510 to 190.590 last preceding such apportionment, bears to the total population of the cities of the state, and each county shall receive such share of the money as its population, determined under ORS 190.510 to 190.590 last preceding such apportionment, bears to the total population of the state.

(3) The moneys appropriated to the Public Transit Division of the Department of Transportation under subsection (1) of this section shall be distributed and transferred to the Elderly and Handicapped Special Transportation Fund established by ORS 391.800 at the same time as the cigarette tax moneys are distributed to cities and counties under this section.

(4) The moneys appropriated to the Higher Education Intercollegiate Athletic Fund under subsection (1) of this section shall be transferred thereto at the same time as the cigarette tax moneys are otherwise distributed under this section.

SECTION 4. ORS 473.030 is amended to read:

473.030. (1) A tax hereby is imposed upon the privilege of engaging in business as a manufacturer or as an importing distributor of malt beverages at the rate of $2.60 per barrel of 31 gallons on all such beverages.

(2) A tax hereby is imposed upon the privilege of engaging in business as a manufacturer or as an importing distributor of alcoholic beverages at the rate of 65 cents per gallon on all such beverages.

(3) In addition to the tax imposed by subsection (2) of this section, alcoholic beverages containing more than 14 percent of alcohol by volume and not more than 21 percent of alcohol by volume shall be taxed at 10 cents per gallon.

(4) In addition to the taxes imposed by subsections (2) and (3) of this section, alcoholic beverages containing not more than 21 percent of alcohol by volume shall be taxed an additional two cents per gallon. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, all moneys collected by the commission pursuant to this subsection shall be paid into the Wine Advisory Board Account established under ORS 576.765.

(5) In addition to the tax imposed by subsection (1) of this section, a tax at the rate of $3.10 per barrel of 31 gallons of malt beverages shall be imposed on the privilege of engaging in the business as a manufacturer or as an importing distributor of malt beverages.

CONTINUED

Measure No. 5 STATE OF OREGON

[*(5)*]**(6)** The rates of tax imposed by this section upon malt beverages apply proportionately to quantities in containers of less capacity than those quantities specified in this section.

[*(6)*]**(7)** The taxes imposed by this section shall be measured by the volume of beverages produced, purchased or received by any manufacturer. If the beverage remains unsold and in the possession of the producer at the plant where it was produced, no tax imposed or levied by this section is required to be paid until such beverage has become sufficiently aged for marketing at retail, but this subsection shall not be construed so as to alter or affect any provision of this chapter relating to tax liens or the filing of statements.

SECTION 5. ORS 471.810 is amended to read:

471.810. (1) At the end of each month, the commission shall certify the amount of money available for distribution in the Oregon Liquor Control Commission Account, and after withholding such money as it may deem necessary to pay its outstanding obligations shall within 35 days of the month for which a distribution is made direct the State Treasurer to pay the amounts due, upon warrants drawn by the Executive Department, as follows:

(a) Fifty-six percent, or the amount remaining after the distribution under subsection (3) of this section, credited to the General Fund available for general governmental purposes wherein it shall be considered as revenue during the quarter immediately preceding receipt;

(b) Twenty percent to the cities of the state in such shares as the population of each city bears to the population of the cities of the state, as determined by the State Board of Higher Education last preceding such apportionment, under ORS 190.510 to 190.610;

(c) Ten percent to counties in such shares as their respective populations bear to the total population of the state, as estimated from time to time by the State Board of Higher Education; and

(d) Fourteen percent to the cities of the state to be distributed as provided in ORS 221.770 and this section.

(2) **Except as provided in subsection (3) of this section,** the commission shall direct the Executive Department to transfer 50 percent of the revenues from the taxes imposed by ORS 473.030 and 473.040 to the Mental Health Alcoholism and Drug Services Account in the General Fund to be paid monthly as provided in ORS 430.380.

(3) **The commission shall direct the Executive Department to transfer the revenue from the tax imposed by ORS 473.030(5) to the credit of the Intercollegiate Athletic Fund to be paid monthly.** Notwithstanding subsection (1) of this section, no city or county shall receive for any fiscal year an amount less than the amount distributed to the city or county in accordance with ORS 471.350 (1965 Replacement Part), 471.810, 473.190 and 473.210 (1965 Replacement Part) during the 1966-1967 fiscal year unless the city or county had a decline in population as shown by its census. If the population declined, the per capita distribution to the city or county shall be not less than the total per capita distribution during the 1966-1967 fiscal year. Any additional funds required to maintain the level of distribution under this subsection shall be paid from funds credited under paragraph (a) of subsection (1) of this section.

SECTION 6. The tax imposed on malt beverages by this state shall not be increased for a period commencing January 1, 1989, and ending December 31, 1999.

EXPLANATION

Ballot Measure 5 creates an Intercollegiate Athletic Fund to support intercollegiate athletic programs for men and women at state colleges and universities. The fund consists of the proceeds of an increase in taxes on malt beverages (beer, ale, etc.) and cigarettes. Sixty percent of the fund is to be used to help fund sports that do not produce as much revenue as they cost. Forty percent is to fund sports that produce more revenue than they cost.

The State Board of Higher Education allocates the monies in the fund each year to the seven institutions under its jurisdiction (University of Oregon, Oregon State University, Portland State University, Eastern Oregon State College, Western Oregon State College, Southern Oregon State College, Oregon Institute of Technology) after considering the relative costs of competing in the athletic conference of the institution and the level of effort made by the institution to generate funds and support from private sources.

The measure increases the present tax on malt beverages (beer, ale, etc.) from 8.4 cents to 18.4 cents per gallon, an increase of 10 cents per gallon. It imposes a legislative ban on further malt beverage tax increases for any purpose until January, 2000.

The measure also increases the present cigarette tax from 27 to 28 cents per 20 cigarette package, an increase of one cent per package.

The total anticipated revenue created by Ballot Measure 5 would be approximately **$8.8 million** each year.

Committee Members:	**Appointed by:**
Paul R. Romain	Secretary of State
William Wessinger	Secretary of State
Richard J. Mimnaugh	Chief Petitioners
John V. Pinson	Chief Petitioners
C. Gregory McMurdo	Members of the Committee

(This Committee appointed to provide an impartial explanation of the ballot measure pursuant to ORS 251.215.)

CONTINUED

Measure No. 5 STATE OF OREGON

ARGUMENT IN FAVOR

ONE CENT! One cent on a pack of cigarettes. One cent on a bottle of beer.

FOR SPORTS — AND FOR EDUCATION — VOTE YES ON 5.

A GOOD COLLEGE SPORTS PROGRAM INCREASES SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

Oregon's colleges and universities offer many excellent educational opportunities outside of sports. But sports help keep colleges in the public eye . . . and build support.

> "Intercollegiate athletics serve as a 'window into the university.' We all know that OSU has far more to offer than just athletic contests, but such sports activity — more than any other activity we undertake — keeps our name in the public eye, brings people of all types onto our campus, and provides a vehicle for creating a better understanding of the full range of OSU's programs and services."
>
> John Byrne, President
> Oregon State University
> *The Oregon Stater*, June, 1988

TOP ACADEMIC UNIVERSITIES HAVE GOOD SPORTS PROGRAMS

Educational excellence and solid sports programs often go hand-in-hand.

> "Give me any of the top 10 state universities academically and you will also find they are among the leaders of football and basketball."
>
> Bud Davis,
> Former Chancellor of the
> State System of Higher Education
> *Oregonian*, April 24, 1988

SPORTS AND ACADEMICS: TWO KEY PARTS OF A BALANCED EDUCATION

Participation in sports can be critical to developing a student's self-discipline, leadership skills and teamwork. These are characteristics we need to encourage in our young people to help prepare them to meet the challenges ahead.

VOTE YES ON 5 — FOR BETTER SPORTS AND BETTER EDUCATION

Bud Davis — Former Chancellor of Higher Education
Jim Jenson — Former President, Oregon State University
Chapin Clark — Professor of Law, Eugene
Ms. Zola Dunbar, DED. — Professor Emeritus, PSU
Larry Turner — Athletic Director, Corvallis High School
Joe Farendorf — President, Oregon Youth Soccer Association

Submitted by: 1¢ For Sports
Jeffrey Davidson
P.O. Box 588
Lake Oswego, OR 97034
(503) b636-5602

(This space purchased for $300 in accordance with ORS 251.255.)

The printing of this argument does not constitute an endorsement by the State of Oregon, nor does the state warrant the accuracy or truth of any statement made in the argument.

ARGUMENT IN OPPOSITION

Vote No on Ballot Measure #5

The Human Services Coalition of Oregon asks you not to spend beer and cigarette tax dollars on college athletics.

Increasing the state tax on beer and cigarettes is a good idea. But spend it on solving the problems **caused** by beer and cigarettes — not on college athletes.

The Human Services Coalition is a state-wide organization of volunteers, advocates, consumers and service providers dedicated to increasing the funding necessary to meet Oregon citizens' basic needs in health care, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, food, shelter and community services.

Any increased tax on beer and cigarettes must go to fund the programs that deal with the problems created or abetted by alcohol consumption and smoking.

Alcoholism is a physiological disease affecting approximately 10% of persons who drink. Problem drinking and drug use are often a basic cause of crime, domestic violence, unemployment, mental illness and school drop-out.

Money for the prevention and treatment of alcohol addiction and substance abuse is inadequate. Only a small part of the current tax dollar on beer is used to address the social problems it causes.

Cigarette smoking is a contributing cause of low birth weight babies. The cost of neo-natal care and life long support for handicapped children should be met in part by a tax on smokers.

A well-funded college athletic program is a worthwhile goal. The Human Services Coalition supports our college and university system. But funding drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs for children and adults, providing adequate drug and alcohol education and meeting the health care needs of low income women and children are far more appropriate uses of beer and cigarette tax dollars.

Submitted by: Human Services Coalition of Oregon
Nina Robart
435 NW Glisan
Portland, Oregon 97209

(This space purchased for $300 in accordance with ORS 251.255.)

The printing of this argument does not constitute an endorsement by the State of Oregon, nor does the state warrant the accuracy or truth of any statement made in the argument.

In 1989, Barbara Roberts is our Secretary of State. Jack Graham was just recently appointed as director of the state Elections Division.

Secretary of State

BARBARA ROBERTS

The Secretary of State's office publishes the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet, publishes various books about elections and election laws, and oversees elections in our state. She is the chief election officer. It is her responsibility to "obtain and maintain uniformity in the application, operation and interpretation of the election laws." ORS 246.110

Salem

Longtime state official will head department

Jack Graham, a longtime state administrator, has been named director of the state Elections Division.

Jack Graham

Graham's appointment to the $50,000-a-year job was announced Friday by Secretary of State Barbara Roberts. He will start work on Monday.

Graham's career in state government includes being chairman of the Governor's Water Policy Task Force in 1978, special projects coordinator and administrative services manager for the Department of Transportation, and most recently, director of the Corporations Division.

Corporations and elections are both divisions of the secretary of state's office.

Graham, 45, is a native of Oregon. He has a master's degree in business administration and a law degree, both from the University of Oregon.

He and his wife, Sheri, have one child, Renee, 15.

The elections post had been vacant since the resignation of Bill Flynn in April.

Recruitment is under way to fill Graham's post at corporations, Patricia McCaig, a secretary of state spokeswoman, said.

Statesman-Journal, July 22, 1989

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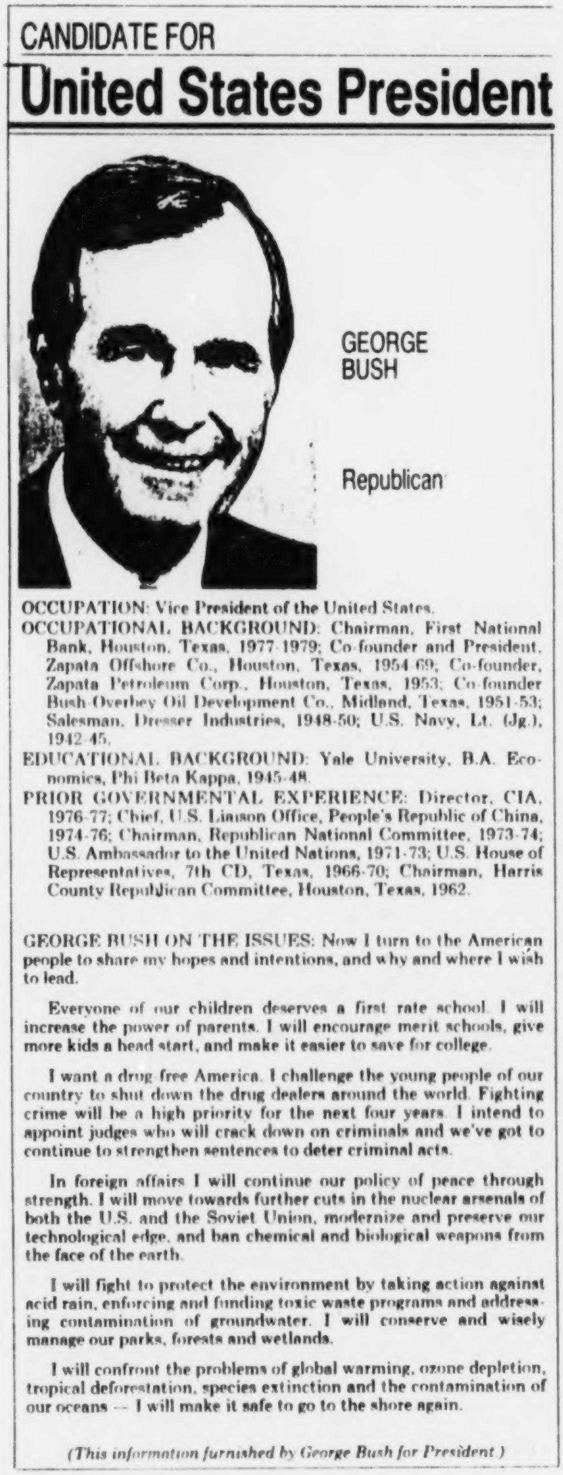


CANDIDATE FOR

United States President

GEORGE BUSH

Republican

OCCUPATION: Vice President of the United States.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND: Chairman, First National Bank, Houston, Texas, 1977-1979; Co-founder and President, Zapata Offshore Co., Houston, Texas, 1954-69; Co-founder, Zapata Petroleum Corp., Houston, Texas, 1953; Co-founder Bush-Overbey Oil Development Co., Midland, Texas, 1951-53; Salesman, Dresser Industries, 1948-50; U.S. Navy, Lt. (Jg.), 1942-45.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND: Yale University, B.A. Economics, Phi Beta Kappa, 1945-48.

PRIOR GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE: Director, CIA, 1976-77; Chief, U.S. Liaison Office, People's Republic of China, 1974-76; Chairman, Republican National Committee, 1973-74; U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, 1971-73; U.S. House of Representatives, 7th CD, Texas, 1966-70; Chairman, Harris County Republican Committee, Houston, Texas, 1962.

GEORGE BUSH ON THE ISSUES: Now I turn to the American people to share my hopes and intentions, and why and where I wish to lead.

Everyone of our children deserves a first rate school. I will increase the power of parents. I will encourage merit schools, give more kids a head start, and make it easier to save for college.

I want a drug free America. I challenge the young people of our country to shut down the drug dealers around the world. Fighting crime will be a high priority for the next four years. I intend to appoint judges who will crack down on criminals and we've got to continue to strengthen sentences to deter criminal acts.

In foreign affairs I will continue our policy of peace through strength. I will move towards further cuts in the nuclear arsenals of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union, modernize and preserve our technological edge, and ban chemical and biological weapons from the face of the earth.

I will fight to protect the environment by taking action against acid rain, enforcing and funding toxic waste programs and addressing contamination of groundwater. I will conserve and wisely manage our parks, forests and wetlands.

I will confront the problems of global warming, ozone depletion, tropical deforestation, species extinction and the contamination of our oceans — I will make it safe to go to the shore again.

(This information furnished by George Bush for President.)

Information about candidates can also be found in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet. Candidates may submit photographs and information about their personal qualifications, their experiences in government and other professions, and their values, beliefs, and positions on the issues.

Lesson X of this section explains the procedure that candidates must follow in order to get their spot in the Voters' Pamphlet. There are fees to be paid and space limitations.

The Oregon Voters' Pamphlet is a good reference for summary materials about candidates. Voters often take the pamphlet with them to the polling places to help them in marking their ballots.

Study these two excerpts from Oregon Voters' Pamphlets. (Bush: 1988; Nixon: 1972)

Then complete the Presidential Candidates Activity and the critical thinking activity: Ranking Concerns in Choosing a President.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES ACTIVITY

In small groups, answer the following questions about the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet descriptions of Presidential candidates George Bush and Richard Nixon. Then report your findings to the class.

1. What image does George Bush portray in the photograph he selected for the voters' pamphlet? How does Richard Nixon appear in his photograph?

2. Which political issues were emphasized by each candidate? Why do you think they chose to discuss those particular issues?

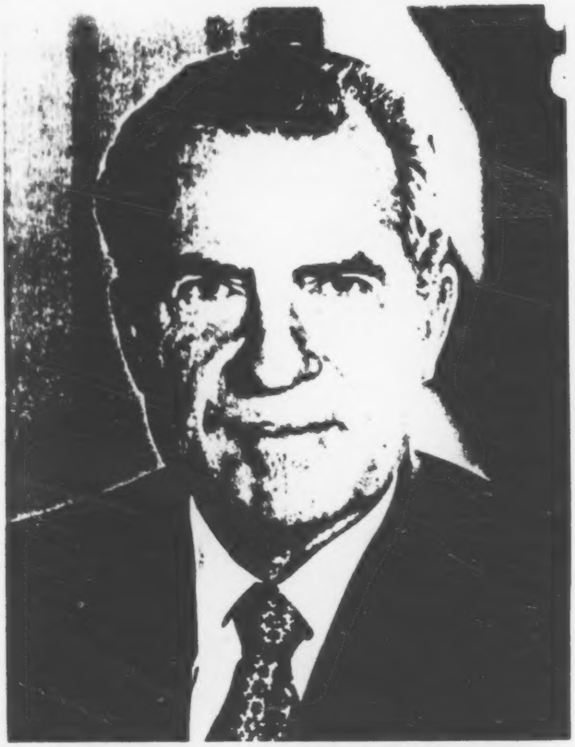
3. What qualifications did you find the most impressive for each candidate? Which qualifications did you find the least impressive?

4. Make a list of the qualifications you look for in choosing a candidate for President of the United States.

Republican

RICHARD M. NIXON

For President of the United States



President Richard Nixon was born January 9, 1913, in Yorba Linda, California. Educated in public schools in Whittier, California, he was graduated from Whittier College in 1934 and the Duke University Law School three years later. He practiced law in Whittier until 1942, served briefly as an attorney with the Office of Price Administration in Washington and joined

(Concluded on following page)

(This information furnished by Oregon Committee for the Re-election of the President—John Mason, Executive Director)

the U.S. Navy, serving in the South Pacific theatre. In 1946 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served two terms. He was elected to the U.S. Senate from California in 1950. In 1952 and 1956 he was elected and re-elected Vice President of the United States with President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

From 1960 until 1968 President Nixon practiced law in Los Angeles and New York but found time to travel extensively in other countries, meeting with leaders of many nations and pursuing his long-time interest in foreign affairs. In 1968 he was nominated for the Presidency on the first ballot at the Republican National Convention and on November 5 of that year he was elected President of the United States.

During his first term President Nixon has taken bold and imaginative steps to deal with the many grave problems which faced the nation both at home and abroad when he took office in 1969.

VIETNAM—The President is bringing U.S. involvement in Vietnam to an honorable end. When he took office in 1969 the U.S. had 550,000 men in service there. This Fall the number has been reduced to less than 27,000. When the President assumed office as many as 300 Americans were dying there every week. He has reduced the casualty rate by 98%. At the same time, the President has explored every channel—both public and private—to bring the war to an end. The President has refused to unilaterally abandon Vietnam until the POW and MIA questions are settled and until there is some assurance of the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese people. The President has announced the total end of the draft July 1, 1973 and that meanwhile no current draftees will be sent without consent to Vietnam.

FOREIGN DIPLOMACY—In other areas of foreign policy President Nixon has ended the "crisis diplomacy" of the 1960's and has moved forward with negotiations on many fronts. The "Nixon Doctrine" is spreading the burden of free world defense more fairly among our allies. The President's imaginative and courageous trips to mainland China and to the Soviet Union have eased world tensions and may well be the foundation for a lasting peace.

ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP—When President Nixon was elected America faced run-away inflation which had gone unchecked through most of the 1960's and a deteriorating competitive position in world markets. His sound economic policies have reversed these trends. Last year he put a freeze on wages and prices and followed this with regulations which are bringing inflation under control for the first time in a decade. On the international front he has negotiated new agreements with our trading partners and military allies which have strengthened the value of the dollar and restored our competitive position.

EMPLOYMENT—With the winding down of the war in Vietnam, returning veterans and workers from reduced defense industries are being released for peacetime employment, while a growing number of women and teenagers enter the job market. The President has signed into law the Emergency Employment Act, providing in its first year a billion dollars for more than 150,000 new jobs. He has also taken a series of actions, including authorization of an expansionary fiscal policy, to stimulate the economy. In January of this year, a record number of Americans—80.6 million—held civilian jobs across the country.

In these and many other areas, including the fight against crime and the preservation of our environment, President Nixon has provided the highest level of dynamic, responsible and effective leadership.

(This information furnished by Oregon Committee for the Re-election of the President—John Mason, Executive Director)

a critical thinking activity

From: Thomas Modl, Editor,
America's Elections:
Opposing Viewpoints.
Greenhaven Press, 1988.

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Ranking Concerns in Choosing a President

Every four years the US goes through a lengthy process of choosing a president. The voters in this election bring a complex web of concerns and loyalties with them. A voting decision is often based upon striking a balance between competing concerns. For example, a voter may have to weigh loyalty to a particular party against concern for an industry in his or her region that would be affected by the election of a particular candidate. This exercise will give you the opportunity to prioritize the values you consider important when choosing a presidential candidate.

Imagine you are a voter in an upcoming primary election which has several candidates from different parties. The following table lists some of the concerns you the voter might consider in choosing a candidate. Examine this list and rank the concerns in order of importance to you in making a voting decision.

________ candidate's opinion on a particular issue
________ candidate's personal or family life
________ candidate's party affiliation
________ candidate's home state or region
________ candidate's ability in public debates
________ candidate's appearance, television presence
________ candidate's previous government experience
________ candidate's trustworthiness, honesty
________ candidate's voting record
________ candidate's racial or ethnic background
________ candidate's gender
________ endorsements candidate has received

After you have finished putting the concerns in order, answer the following questions. Then, form small groups and discuss your choices. Put together a group ranking and present it to the class. Be prepared to defend your choices.

1. What concern was the most important to you? What was the least? Explain why.
2. Is there any one concern that overrides all the others? If a candidate matched your preferences in all but one concern, which one of the listed concerns, if any, would be important enough to keep you from voting for that candidate?
3. Are there any concerns in the list that are of no importance to you? Why? Why might other people find them important?

E. LESSON IV - RESOURCES: NEWSPAPERS

Introduction

A. Advertising Appeals

B. News Stories

C. News Analyses

D. Features

E. Photos and Other Art

F. Editorial Cartoons

G. Editorials

H. Letters to the Editor

I. Columns

Critical Thinking Activity:

Distinguishing Between Fact and Opinion

Objective #3: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand how to use the following resources which give voters information about candidates and issues by explaining how information is presented in each:

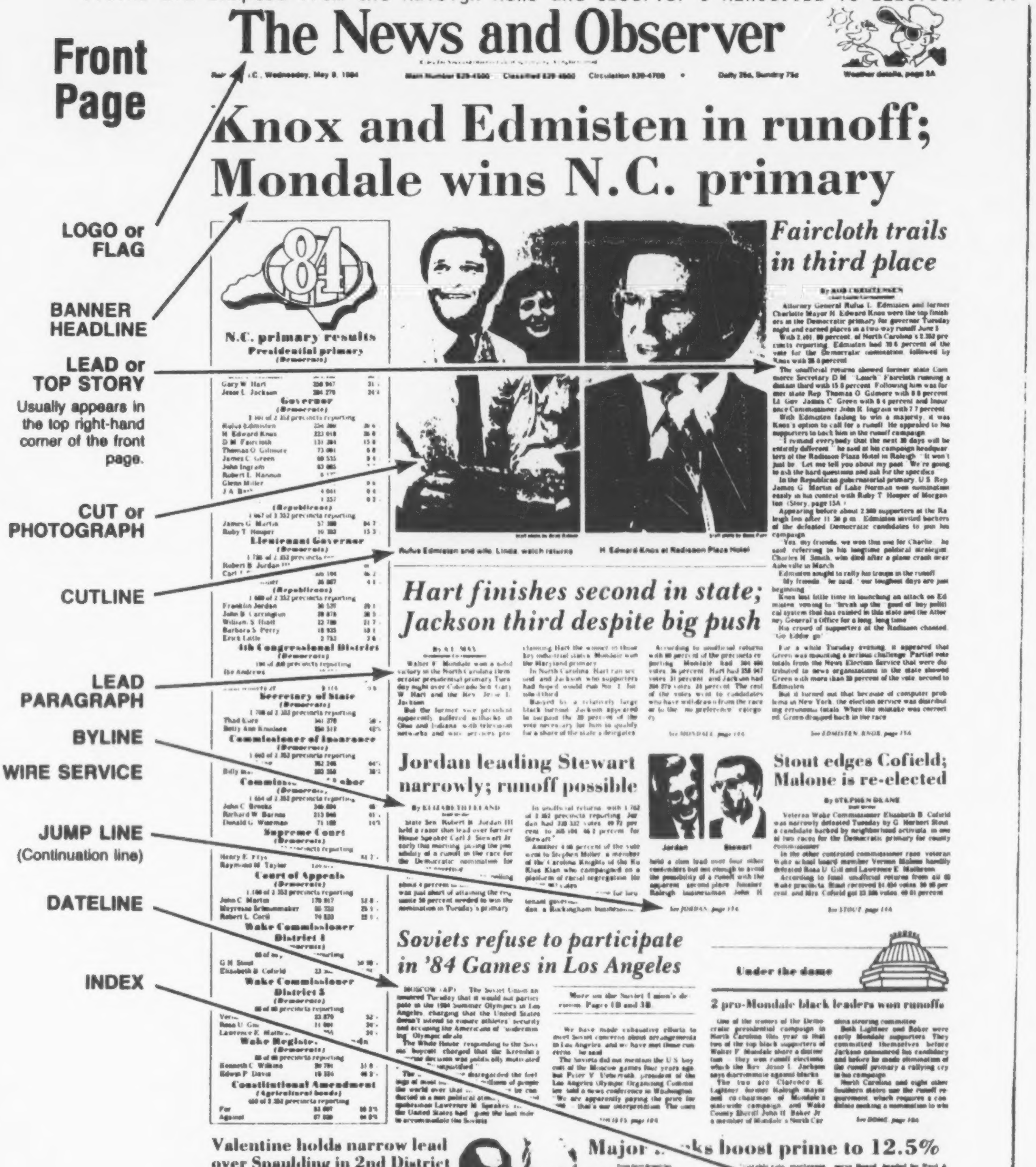
b. Newspapers

Objective #5: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

analyze the objectivity of the information in each of the above resources by (a) distinguishing between facts and opinions.

INTRODUCTION

Local newspapers carry information about candidates and issues, along with paid political advertisements and editorial opinions. The following activities are adapted from the Raleigh News and Observer's NEWSGUIDE TO ELECTION '84.


Front Page
LOGO or FLAG
BANNER HEADLINE
LEAD or TOP STORY
Usually appears in the top right-hand corner of the front page.
CUT or PHOTOGRAPH
CUTLINE
LEAD PARAGRAPH
BYLINE
WIRE SERVICE
JUMP LINE
(Continuation line)
DATELINE
INDEX
84
Under the dome
Index

The News and Observer

Knox and Edmisten in runoff; Mondale wins N.C. primary

Faircloth trails in third place

N.C. primary results

Rufus Edmisten and wife, Linda, watch returns

H. Edward Knox at Radisson Plaza Hotel

Hart finishes second in state; Jackson third despite big push

Jordan leading Stewart narrowly; runoff possible

Jordan

Stewart

Stout edges Cofield; Malone is re-elected

Soviets refuse to participate in '84 Games in Los Angeles

2 pro-Mondale black leaders won runoffs

Valentine holds narrow lead over Spaulding in 2nd District

Spaulding

Valentine

Major ...ks boost prime to 12.5%

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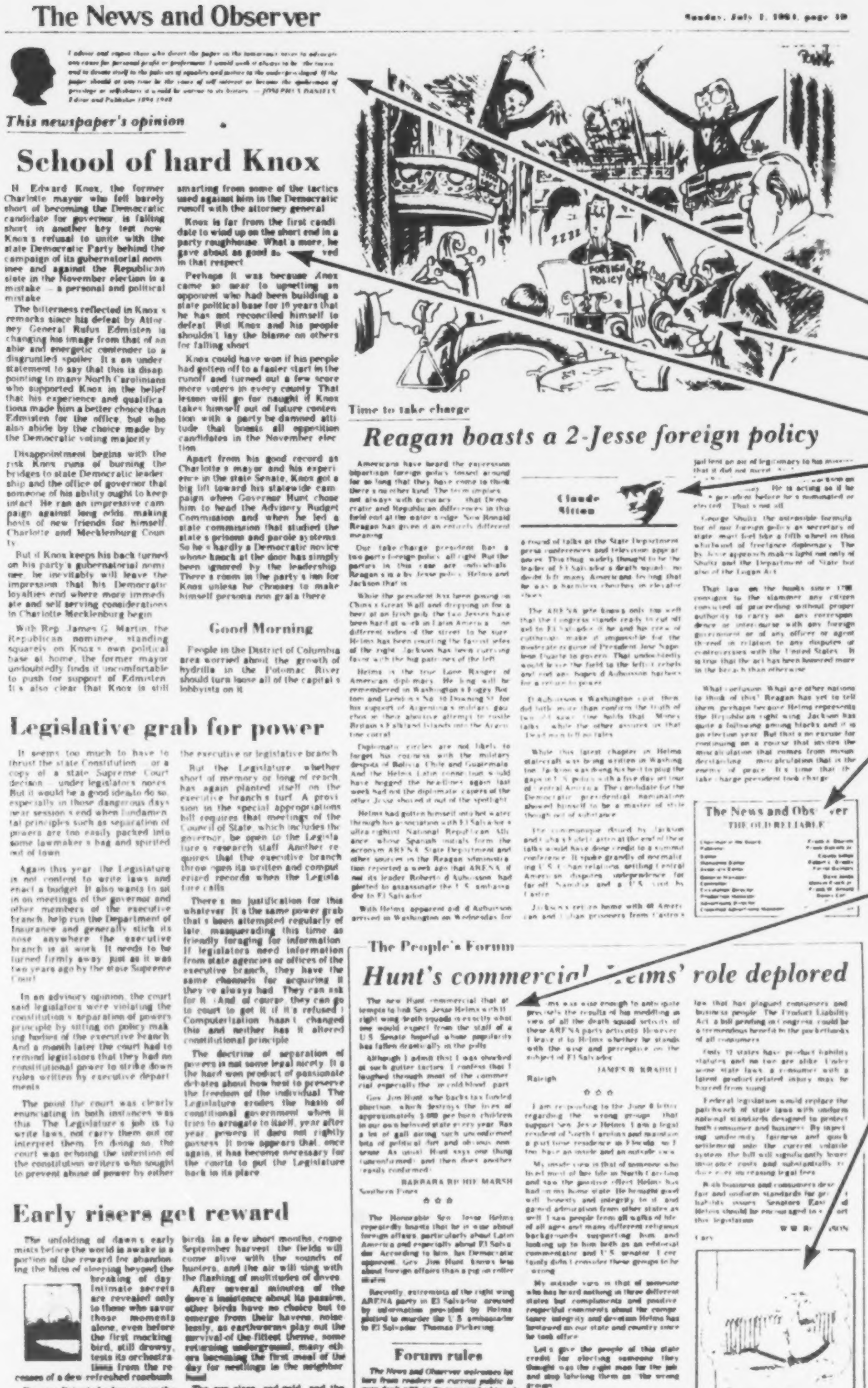
Editorial Page


ZZZZ
FOREIGN POLICY

MASTHEAD

EDITORIAL CARTOON

EDITORIAL

COLUMN
(Locally produced)

BOX
Contains information usually found in the masthead.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

EDITORIAL CARTOON

The News and Observer

Sunday, July 1, 1984, page 1D

This newspaper's opinion

School of hard Knox

H. Edward Knox, the former Charlotte mayor who fell barely short of becoming the Democratic candidate for governor, is falling short in another key test now. Knox's refusal to unite with the state Democratic Party behind the campaign of its gubernatorial nominee and against the Republican slate in the November election is a mistake — a personal and political mistake.

The bitterness reflected in Knox's remarks since his defeat by Attorney General Rufus Edmisten is changing his image from that of an able and energetic contender to a disgruntled spoiler. It's an understatement to say that this is disappointing to many North Carolinians who supported Knox in the belief that his experience and qualifications made him a better choice than Edmisten for the office, but who also abide by the choice made by the Democratic voting majority.

Disappointment begins with the risk Knox runs of burning the bridges to state Democratic leadership and the office of governor that someone of his ability ought to keep intact. He ran an impressive campaign against long odds, making hosts of new friends for himself, Charlotte and Mecklenburg County.

But if Knox keeps his back turned on his party's gubernatorial nominee, he inevitably will leave the impression that his Democratic loyalties end where more immediate and self-serving considerations in Charlotte-Mecklenburg begin.

With Rep. James G. Martin, the Republican nominee, standing squarely on Knox's own political base at home, the former mayor undoubtedly finds it uncomfortable to push for support of Edmisten. It's also clear that Knox is still smarting from some of the tactics used against him in the Democratic runoff with the attorney general.

Knox is far from the first candidate to wind up on the short end in a party roughhouse. What's more, he gave about as good as [illegible]ved in that respect.

Perhaps it was because Knox came so near to upsetting an opponent who had been building a state political base for 10 years that he has not reconciled himself to defeat. But Knox and his people shouldn't lay the blame on others for falling short.

Knox could have won if his people had gotten off to a faster start in the runoff and turned out a few score more voters in every county. That lesson will go for naught if Knox takes himself out of future contention with a party-be-damned attitude that brands all opposition candidates in the November election.

Apart from his good record as Charlotte's mayor and his experience in the state Senate, Knox got a big lift toward his statewide campaign when Governor Hunt chose him to head the Advisory Budget Commission and when he led a state commission that studied the state's prisons and parole systems. So he's hardly a Democratic novice whose knock at the door has simply been ignored by the leadership. There's room in the party's inn for Knox unless he chooses to make himself persona non grata there.

Good Morning

People in the District of Columbia area worried about the growth of hydrilla in the Potomac River should turn loose all of the capital's lobbyists on it.

Legislative grab for power

It seems too much to have to thrust the state Constitution — or a copy of a state Supreme Court decision — under legislators' noses. But it would be a good idea to do so, especially in those dangerous days near session's end when fundamental principles such as separation of powers are too easily packed into some lawmaker's bag and spirited out of town.

Again this year, the Legislature is not content to write laws and enact a budget. It also wants to sit in on meetings of the governor and other members of the executive branch, help run the Department of Insurance and generally stick its nose anywhere the executive branch is at work. It needs to be turned firmly away, just as it was two years ago by the state Supreme Court.

In an advisory opinion, the court said legislators were violating the constitution's separation of powers principle by sitting on policy-making bodies of the executive branch. And a month later the court had to remind legislators that they had no constitutional power to strike down rules written by executive departments.

The point the court was clearly enunciating in both instances was this: The Legislature's job is to write laws, not carry them out or interpret them. In doing so, the court was echoing the intention of the constitution writers who sought to prevent abuse of power by either the executive or legislative branch.

But the Legislature, whether short of memory or long of reach, has again planted itself on the executive branch's turf. A provision in the special appropriations bill requires that meetings of the Council of State, which includes the governor, be open to the Legislature's research staff. Another requires that the executive branch throw open its written and computerized records when the Legislature calls.

There's no justification for this whatever. It's the same power grab that's been attempted regularly of late, masquerading this time as friendly foraging for information. If legislators need information from state agencies or offices of the executive branch, they have the same channels for acquiring it they've always had. They can ask for it. (And of course, they can go to court to get it if it's refused.) Computerization hasn't changed this and neither has it altered constitutional principle.

The doctrine of separation of powers is not some legal nicety. It's the hard-won product of passionate debates about how best to preserve the freedom of the individual. The Legislature erodes the basis of constitutional government when it tries to arrogate to itself, year after year, powers it does not rightly possess. It now appears that, once again, it has become necessary for the courts to put the Legislature back in its place.

Early risers get reward

The unfolding of dawn's early mists before the world is awake is a portion of the reward for abandoning the bliss of sleeping beyond the breaking of day. Intimate secrets are revealed only to those who savor those moments alone, even before the first mockingbird, still drowsy, tests its orchestrations from the recesses of a dew-refreshed rosebush.

From a distant shadow comes the mournful call of the dove, expressing its lovesickness with the same insistence that we heard last February, for the dove, echoing its own summons, is, as any hunter knows, one of the most [illegible] of game birds. In a few short months, come September harvest, the fields will come alive with the sounds of hunters, and the air will sing with the flashing of multitudes of doves.

After several minutes of the dove's insistence about its passion, other birds have no choice but to emerge from their havens, noiselessly, as earthworms play out the survival-of-the-fittest theme, some returning underground, many others becoming the first meal of the day for nestlings in the neighborhood.

The sun rises, red-gold, and the early riser must yield to the other creatures of the planet. The late sleeper snoozes on, scarcely appreciating his slumber, and not knowing that he has missed the most beautiful hours of the day.

Time to take charge

Reagan boasts a 2-Jesse foreign policy

Claude Sitton

Americans have heard the expression bipartisan foreign policy tossed around for so long that they have come to think there's no other kind. The term implies — not always with accuracy — that Democratic and Republican differences in this field end at the water's edge. Now Ronald Reagan has given it an entirely different meaning.

Our take-charge president has a two-party foreign policy all right. But the parties in this case are individuals. Reagan's is a two-Jesse policy: Helms and Jackson, that is.

While the president has been posing on China's Great Wall and dropping in for a beer at an Irish pub, the two Jesses have been hard at work in Latin America — on different sides of the street, to be sure. Helms has been courting the fascist elites of the right. Jackson has been currying favor with the big patrones of the left.

Helms is the true Lone Ranger of American diplomacy. He long will be remembered in Washington's Foggy Bottom and London's No. 10 Downing St. for his support of Argentina's military gauchos in their abortive attempt to rustle Britain's Falkland Islands into the Argentine corral.

Diplomatic circles are not likely to forget his coziness with the military despots of Bolivia, Chile and Guatemala. And the Helms Latin connection would have hogged the headlines again last week had not the diplomatic capers of the other Jesse shoved it out of the spotlight.

Helms had gotten himself into hot water through his association with El Salvador's ultra-rightist National Republican Alliance, whose Spanish initials form the acronym ARENA. State Department and other sources in the Reagan administration reported a week ago that ARENA, if not its leader Roberto d'Aubuisson, had plotted to assassinate the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador.

With Helms' apparent aid, d'Aubuisson arrived in Washington on Wednesday for a round of talks at the State Department, press conferences and television appearances. This thug, widely thought to be the leader of El Salvador's death squads, no doubt left many Americans feeling that he was a harmless choirboy in elevator shoes.

The ARENA pols knows only too well that the Congress stands ready to cut off aid to El Salvador if he and his crew of cutthroats make it impossible for the moderate regime of President Jose Napoleon Duarte to govern. That undoubtedly would leave the field to the leftist rebels and end any hopes d'Aubuisson harbors for a return to power.

D'Aubuisson's Washington visit, then, did little more than confirm the truth of [illegible]. One holds that "Money talks," while the other assures us that "Dead men tell no tales."

While this latest chapter in Helms statecraft was being written in Washington, Jackson was doing his best to plug the gaps in U.S. policy with a five-day jet tour of Central America. The candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination showed himself to be a master of style though not of substance.

The communique issued by Jackson and Cuba's Fidel Castro at the end of their talks would have done credit to a summit conference. It spoke grandly of normalizing U.S.-Cuban relations, settling Central American disputes, independence for far-off Namibia and a U.S. visit by Castro.

Jackson's return home with 48 American and Cuban prisoners from Castro's jails lent an air of legitimacy to his mission that it did not merit. [illegible] He is acting as if he [illegible] president before he's nominated or elected. That's not all.

George Shultz, the ostensible formulator of our foreign policy as secretary of state, must feel like a fifth wheel in this whirlwind of freelance diplomacy. The two-Jesse approach makes light not only of Shultz and the Department of State but also of the Logan Act.

That law, on the books since 1799, consigns to the slammer any citizen convicted of proceeding without proper authority to carry on "any correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government or of any officer or agent thereof in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States." It is true that the act has been honored more in the breach than otherwise.

What confusion. What are other nations to think of this? Reagan has yet to tell them, perhaps because Helms represents the Republican right wing. Jackson has quite a following among blacks and it is an election year. But that's no excuse for continuing on a course that invites the miscalculation that comes from misunderstanding — miscalculation that is the enemy of peace. It's time that th[illegible] take-charge president took charge.

The News and Obs[illegible]ver
THE OLD RELIABLE

The People's Forum

Hunt's commercial, Helms' role deplored

The new Hunt commercial that attempts to link Sen. Jesse Helms with El Salvador's right-wing death squads is exactly what one would expect from the staff of a U.S. Senate hopeful whose popularity has fallen drastically in the polls.

Although I admit that I was shocked at such gutter tactics, I confess that I laughed through most of the commercial, especially the "in cold blood" part.

Gov. Jim Hunt, who backs tax-funded abortion, which destroys the lives of approximately 3,000 pre-born children in our own beloved state every year, has a lot of gall airing such unconfirmed bits of political dirt and obvious nonsense. As usual, Hunt says one thing (unconfirmed) and then does another (easily confirmed).

BARBARA RICHIE MARSH
Southern Pines

☆ ☆ ☆

The Honorable Sen. Jesse Helms repeatedly boasts that he is wise about foreign affairs, particularly about Latin America and especially about El Salvador. According to him, his Democratic opponent, Gov. Jim Hunt, knows less about foreign affairs than a pig on roller skates.

Recently, extremists of the right-wing ARENA party in El Salvador, aroused by information provided by Helms, plotted to murder the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Thomas Pickering.

[illegible]ms was wise enough to anticipate precisely the results of his meddling in view of all the death squad activity of these ARENA party activists. However, I leave it to Helms whether he stands with the wise and perceptive on the subject of El Salvador.

JAMES R. KRABILL
Raleigh

☆ ☆ ☆

I am responding to the June 8 letter regarding the "wrong groups" that support Sen. Jesse Helms. I am a legal resident of North Carolina and maintain a part-time residence in Florida, so I too have an inside and an outside view.

My inside view is that of someone who lived most of her life in North Carolina and saw the positive effect Helms has had on my home state. He brought good will, honesty and integrity to it and gained admiration from other states as well. I saw people from all walks of life, of all ages and many different religious backgrounds supporting him and looking up to him both as an editorial commentator and U.S. senator. I certainly didn't consider these groups to be "wrong."

My outside view is that of someone who has heard nothing in three different states but compliments and positive, respectful comments about the competence, integrity and devotion Helms has bestowed on our state and country since he took office.

Let's give the people of this state credit for electing someone they thought was the right man for the job and stop labeling them as "the wrong groups."

JANINE LORRAINE JOHNSON
Raleigh

Favors legislation

For the first time in years, Congress has a real chance to clear up an area of law that has plagued consumers and business people. The Product Liability Act, a bill pending in Congress, could be a tremendous benefit to the pocketbooks of all consumers.

Only 12 states have product liability statutes and no two are alike. Under some state laws, a consumer with a latent product-related injury may be barred from suing.

Federal legislation would replace the patchwork of state laws with uniform national standards designed to protect both consumer and business. By injecting uniformity, fairness and quick settlement into the current volatile system, the bill will significantly lower insurance costs and substantially reduce ever-increasing legal fees.

Both business and consumers deserve fair and uniform standards for pr[illegible] liability issues. Senators East [illegible] Helms should be encouraged to [illegible] this legislation.

W. W. R[illegible]SON
Cary

Forum rules

The News and Observer welcomes letters from readers on current public issues dealt with in its news and editorial columns. Letters must be signed originals of 300 words or less addressed only to The News and Observer. Letters are subject to editing for brevity, style and taste. Address and phone number are required.

What dogs dream about

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

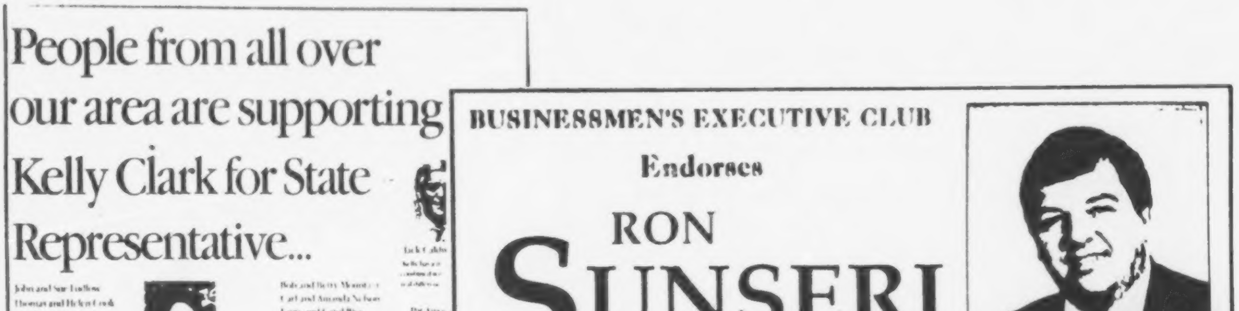
How do you react to political advertisements?
What effect do hard news and news analyses have on your views?
Do editorials affect your opinions?
Do you read political columns? Do you read columns of varying political views?
How much information do you get from media other than newspapers?

Information about elections that appears in the newspaper varies in organization and purpose. An informed reader must recognize the differences to understand the information presented as news.

The following activities will help you recognize the different types of writing in newspapers and better understand what is presented as news.

A. Advertising appeals

1. Political ads are created and paid for by the candidates' campaign organizations. They reflect the issues, concerns, images, and impressions that the candidate is trying to convey about himself and about his opponent.



People from all over our area are supporting Kelly Clark for State Representative...

Kelly Clark

BUSINESSMEN'S EXECUTIVE CLUB

Endorses

RON SUNSERI

For STATE REPRESENTATIVE
DISTRICT 22

Ron Sunseri is committed to:

THESE PRINCIPLES OF SOUND GOVERNMENT

The principles of efficient government are not a matter of political party but of philosophy, of prioritizing. We must spend responsibly so we can tax less and citizens can retain more; not tax more so we can spend more. This is how I'll accomplish that goal:

- **Setting budget priorities to pay for essentials first**
- **Seeking alternatives to increased taxes and spending**
- **Keeping government decisions close to the people with strong local governments**
- **Promoting individual initiative and individual responsibility while having compassion for those who truly cannot care for themselves**

☑ A Vote for Ron Sunseri Nov. 8 is a Vote For Better Government

Paid for by Businessmen's Executive Club, P.O. Box 81, Gresham, OR

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ELECT

Tom Brian

STATE REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICT 9

FAMILY VALUES

Tom Brian believes in old-fashioned family values. Tom and his wife, Joene, teach their children to have respect for people and property, to tell the truth, to take responsibility and to work hard.

Tom Brian cares for people. He has spent long hours, often unnoticed, helping seniors, young people and neighbors.

Tom Brian works for the community. By fighting for better roads and lower property taxes. By stopping a 400-bed state prison which endangered our neighborhoods and high school. By starting the Tigard/Tualatin Youth Services Agency. By supporting senior centers and the library. By initiating the old-fashioned 4th of July celebration.

Tom Brian accomplishes a lot of things for the community -- all a reflection of his love for his family and friends in the community.

HIS COMMITMENT TO US IS REAL. IT IS DEEP. IT IS PROVEN.

JOIN YOUR FRIENDS IN ELECTING TOM BRIAN OUR NEXT STATE REPRESENTATIVE!

Paid for by Elect Tom Brian State Representative Committee, P.O. Box 23066, Tigard, OR 97223. Phone 684-1968

KELLY CLARK

COMMUNITY FORUM with

SENATOR MARK HATFIELD

MARK O. HATFIELD

TOPIC
OREGON ISSUES, TODAY AND TOMORROW

DATE
NOVEMBER 3RD

TIME
4:30 P.M.

PLACE
MARYLHURST COLLEGE
(Between Lake Oswego and West Linn on Highway 43)

THE PUBLIC IS INVITED

"To know Kelly Clark is to understand compassion, courage, and integrity. His capacity to serve and his willingness to sacrifice underscore his deep commitment to people."
Mark O. Hatfield

Kelly Clark
for Us, for Oregon!
For State Representative
Paid for by Friends of Kelly Clark

2. The content of ads is often debated, as is the public's reaction to them. Some ads attack the opponent rather than support the issues and concerns of the candidate placing the ad. Often the fairness and accuracy of ads are challenged.

    a. **Analyze the political ads. In their ads, do candidates deal with issues, or do they appeal strictly to your emotions? Do they gain your sympathy? Make you suspect their opponents' character or abilities? Arouse anger? In general, is the candidate presenting his positions and record of achievement or is he attacking his opponent?**

    b. **What is your reaction to the ads? Which influence your evaluation of the candidates?**

    Design a political ad for a candidate of your choice using one of the advertising appeals. Would you attack an opposing candidate, stress achievements while in office or make campaign promises?

3. **Study the following list of advertising appeals.**

brand loyalty—The advertiser wants you to continue buying the established brands — especially those from older, well established businesses.

conformity—The bandwagon approach. "Everybody is buying this particular brand or item."

hero worship—Endorsement of a product by a big name in entertainment or sports.

status—An appeal to the buyer's class-consciousness.

humor—Entertaining, but deceptive; says little about the product.

feminine attractiveness—A wishful thinking ad; appealing to those girls or women who wish to be more beautiful, more sexy, more alluring, more appealing to men.

masculine attractiveness—Same kind of appeal as number 6, an appeal to the he-man image.

style changes—The buyer is asked to keep up with the times. This may include fad items.

vanity—This kind of ad appeals to the buyer's self image, ego gratification. The buyer's happiness is placed first in importance.

economy—Everyone likes to think he can economize while spending.

luxury—Symbol of wealth and excess.

convenience—Work saver and time saver.

creativity—Buyer can add personal touch to product's use.

security—This covers many kinds of security: Emotional, social, financial, etc.

sex—The ad appeals to the lure of sex. It is very similar to the appeals of numbers 6 and 7.

More than one appeal may appear in an ad.

Match the ads on pp. 173-174 with the advertising appeals used in them.

Advertisement 1 - "People from all over our area..."

Candidate's name: ______________________________

Advertising appeal used: ______________________________

Advertisement #2 - "Businessmen's Executive Club endorses ..."

Candidate's name: ______________________________

Advertising appeal used: ______________________________

Advertisement #3 - "Family Values ... "

Candidate's name ______________________________

Advertising appeal used: ______________________________

Advertisement #4 - "Community Forum with Senator Mark Hatfield ..."

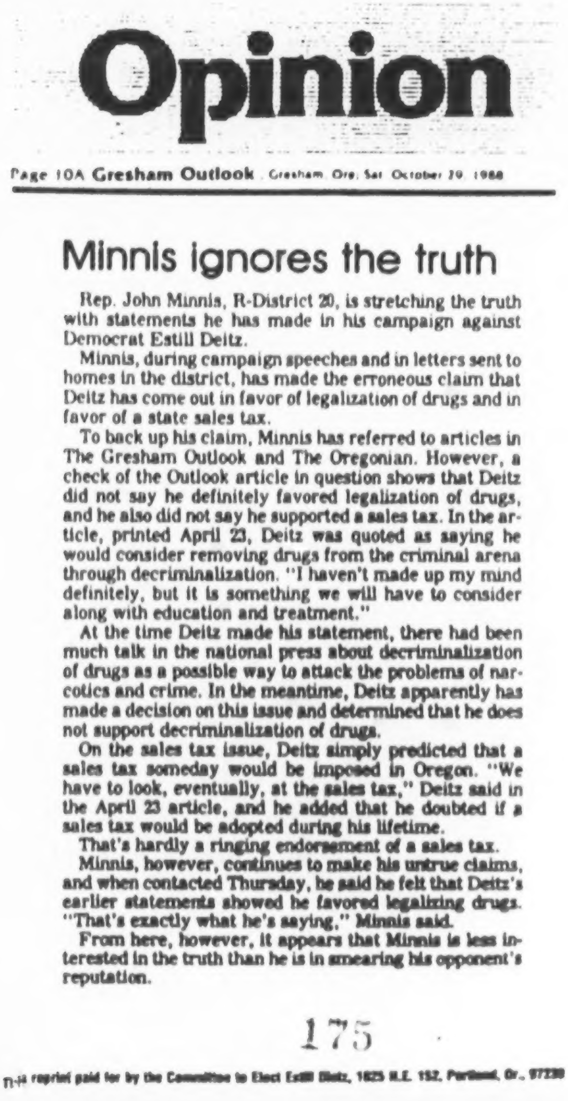
Candidate's name: ____

Advertising appeal used: _______________________________________

Some candidates include news stories and editorials in their ads. News stories generally contain news that the candidate views as supporting a stand he has taken or criticizing a position taken by his opponent. The editorials chosen praise a candidate's conduct, performance in office or stand on a particular issue and sometimes endorse the candidate outright.

As in all ads, ones that include news stories and editorials show the candidate in a favorable light. The newspaper may not agree with the conclusions drawn by the candidate in the ads.

Look for ads that refer to or include news stories or editorials. What conclusions or inferences has the candidate drawn?



Opinion

Page 10A **Gresham Outlook**, Gresham, Ore., Sat. October 29, 1988

Minnis ignores the truth

Rep. John Minnis, R-District 20, is stretching the truth with statements he has made in his campaign against Democrat Estill Deitz.

Minnis, during campaign speeches and in letters sent to homes in the district, has made the erroneous claim that Deitz has come out in favor of legalization of drugs and in favor of a state sales tax.

To back up his claim, Minnis has referred to articles in The Gresham Outlook and The Oregonian. However, a check of the Outlook article in question shows that Deitz did not say he definitely favored legalization of drugs, and he also did not say he supported a sales tax. In the article, printed April 23, Deitz was quoted as saying he would consider removing drugs from the criminal arena through decriminalization. "I haven't made up my mind definitely, but it is something we will have to consider along with education and treatment."

At the time Deitz made his statement, there had been much talk in the national press about decriminalization of drugs as a possible way to attack the problems of narcotics and crime. In the meantime, Deitz apparently has made a decision on this issue and determined that he does not support decriminalization of drugs.

On the sales tax issue, Deitz simply predicted that a sales tax someday would be imposed in Oregon. "We have to look, eventually, at the sales tax," Deitz said in the April 23 article, and he added that he doubted if a sales tax would be adopted during his lifetime.

That's hardly a ringing endorsement of a sales tax.

Minnis, however, continues to make his untrue claims, and when contacted Thursday, he said he felt that Deitz's earlier statements showed he favored legalizing drugs. "That's exactly what he's saying," Minnis said.

From here, however, it appears that Minnis is less interested in the truth than he is in smearing his opponent's reputation.

This reprint paid for by the Committee to Elect Estill Deitz, 1625 N.E. 152, Portland, Or., 97230

This community needs a SHOEMAKER

The Oregonian, Valley Times and Willamette Week agree.

“Voters in State Senate District 3 . . . have an opportunity Nov. 8 to replace an ordinary aspirant for state senator . . . with an extraordinary one Democratic challenger Bob Shoemaker. Do it.”

The Oregonian
Monday, October 3, 1988

“Bob Shoemaker . . . is the kind of candidate this district and the state needs in its citizen Legislature. His optimistic yet realistic views foster a sense of excitement and hope something Oregon could use more of . . . Shoemaker has the potential to be a pillar of the Senate in a short time. Elect Shoemaker on Nov. 8.”

Valley Times
Week of Oct. 27 - Nov. 2, 1988

“There's no doubt that Bob Shoemaker is the more qualified candidate . . . We hope that the voters in Senate District 3 elect Shoemaker. . .”

Willamette Week
For the Week of October 27 - November 2, 1988

VOTE NOV 8 FOR BOB SHOEMAKER
IN STATE SENATE DISTRICT 3

BOB SHOEMAKER For State Senate

[illegible]

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B. News stories

1. Newspapers, not candidates, are responsible for the content of news stories and news analyses. This fact accounts for the differences between ads and news coverage.

A20 3M THE OREGONIAN, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1988

CAMPAIGN '88

Dukakis plays both defense, offense as clock runs out

By DAVID LAUTER
LA Times-Washington Post Service

PHILADELPHIA — With five days to go in his presidential campaign, Michael S. Dukakis on Thursday gave the advice that he long had declined to take.

At an early morning town meeting in a suburban community north of here, a 9-year-old child explained that he would be playing Dukakis in a class debate. What should he do?

"Respond to the attacks immediately," Dukakis told young Peter Roberts. "Don't let them get away with anything. Don't let them put any commercials up there."

Perhaps, had Dukakis taken that advice two months ago, he would not need to be defending himself so intently now. But he didn't.

And so a few hours later, as one of the largest crowds of Dukakis' campaign gathered in front of historic City Hall here, the first thing the candidate had to do was spend precious minutes defending himself against yet another Republican attack, this one on gun control.

"Folks, I've always defended the right of hunters and sportsmen to own guns," he told the estimated 15,000 listeners, explaining as he has before that he favors a seven-day federal waiting period for gun purchases to help stop "teen-agers and drug dealers with Uzis and AK-47s running around our cities killing people."

As he celebrated his 55th birthday Thursday, Dukakis continued to press his "I'm on your side" theme, pledging once again to cut off foreign aid to countries that do not help the United States fight against drug trafficking.

And he raised again the specter of GOP cuts in Social Security, seizing upon a recent statement by former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who suggested that money in the Social Security trust fund be used to finance increases in the defense budget.

But Dukakis' time is going, and as he campaigned in Pennsylvania and Connecticut, his time to catch up was going fast. Dukakis' aides point to polls showing the race tightening in many key states, but they claim to be ahead in only a few.

In a final pitch, the campaign Thursday evening began to air a new advertisement with a stark message. "Before you vote, remember this," a narrator says. Then the viewer sees Lloyd Bentsen and Dan Quayle, the two vice presidential nominees, in their now-famous "You're no Jack Kennedy" confrontation. "President Quayle?" the ad ends.

Dukakis is hoping that doubts about Quayle, coupled with distaste for Bush's negative advertising, will combine to persuade large numbers of voters to give him a "second look" before they enter the voting booths. In the meantime, he continues to plug away at the message he has been pushing now for more than two weeks.

Taking off his jacket, despite the chilly breeze, Dukakis reminded the crowd that Bush, in a recent television interview, had listed a series of steps the country should take against drugs and then admitted "we haven't really done that."

"Where's he been the last eight years?" Dukakis shouted as the crowd burst into cheers of "Where was George?"

"What's he been doing?"

Bush, he said, repeating a charge he had made a day earlier, had refused to commit himself to cutting off foreign aid to nations that do not help in the anti-drug war. "He says he wouldn't. I will. That's a fundamental difference."

"I'm on your side," Dukakis added. "I'm on your [illegible] side."

Associated Press

Kitty Dukakis waves to supporters on her release Thursday from a Minneapolis hospital, where she has been treated for a virus.

Compare an ad and a news story. What differences do you see?

____

____

____

____

How do the images in the ad below contrast with the information in the news story (left)?

____

____

____

____

A Team For America's Future

DUKAKIS BENTSEN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

2. News stories, most often called straight or hard news, inform the public about specific events immediately after they occur. News reporters are often on the scene to observe speeches and rallies and stay at election headquarters while returns come in. Their observations and research, speeches, press conferences and interviews determine what they write. Quotes containing opinions should be attributed to the people who made the statements.

   a. **Read an election story that is spot news. Where did the news reporter get his information?**______________________________

   b. **Underline quotes and circle the name of the person making the statement. Do the same when studying analyses and editorials and note that straight news stories contain many more attributions than do other types of news coverage.**

Democrats expect to keep control of Congress

Lloyd Bentsen

John Kerry

It appears likely that the Democrats will pad their 54-46 Senate advantage by one or two seats. House Democrats will remain dominant as well, perhaps adding a small handful of seats to their current 255-177 majority.

WASHINGTON (AP) — Democrats are so confident that they'll do well in Tuesday's House and Senate races that they are throwing down the gauntlet for the next president already.

They — not the White House — will have the mandate to chart the U.S. course for the next four years, the Democrats say.

Behind that confidence is the likelihood of Democratic advances in the Senate and perhaps the House, plus the perception that the presidential candidates have done little to define a clear vision of what should happen after election day.

It appears likely that the Democrats will pad their 54-46 Senate advantage by one or two seats. House Democrats will remain dominant as well, perhaps adding a small handful of seats to their current 255-177 majority.

But both sides also are prepared for surprises.

"I've never seen the electorate as volatile as it is right now," Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts, the head of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, says.

Presidential mandates are created when a president makes a persuasive case, based on a clear election day tide, that his victory amounts to a popular directive to pursue certain policies.

"There's not a prayer of a chance that Congress will accept any definition of a Bush mandate," Thomas Mann, a political analyst at the Brookings Institution, says.

A more solidly Democratic Congress is also likely to deny Bush, if he wins, the traditional honeymoon period of cooperation.

A victory for Michael Dukakis would bring less friction, but eking out a come-from-behind victory is not the stuff of which mandates are made.

"Whether Bush wins or not, there is a very clear commitment to continue what Congress started two years ago — addressing trade, health care ... issues that have been ignored," Kerry says.

Instead of resembling 1980, when Reagan was swept into office along with a Republican majority in the Senate, the next two years are more likely to look like the last two, when Reagan was a lame duck and Congress largely set the national agenda, Mann says.

"The way to think about this is not as the president leading Congress, but of the two as truly equal partners, seeking accommodation and negotiation" he says. "If Bush adopts that mode and demonstrates some flexibility, then he can get some things done."

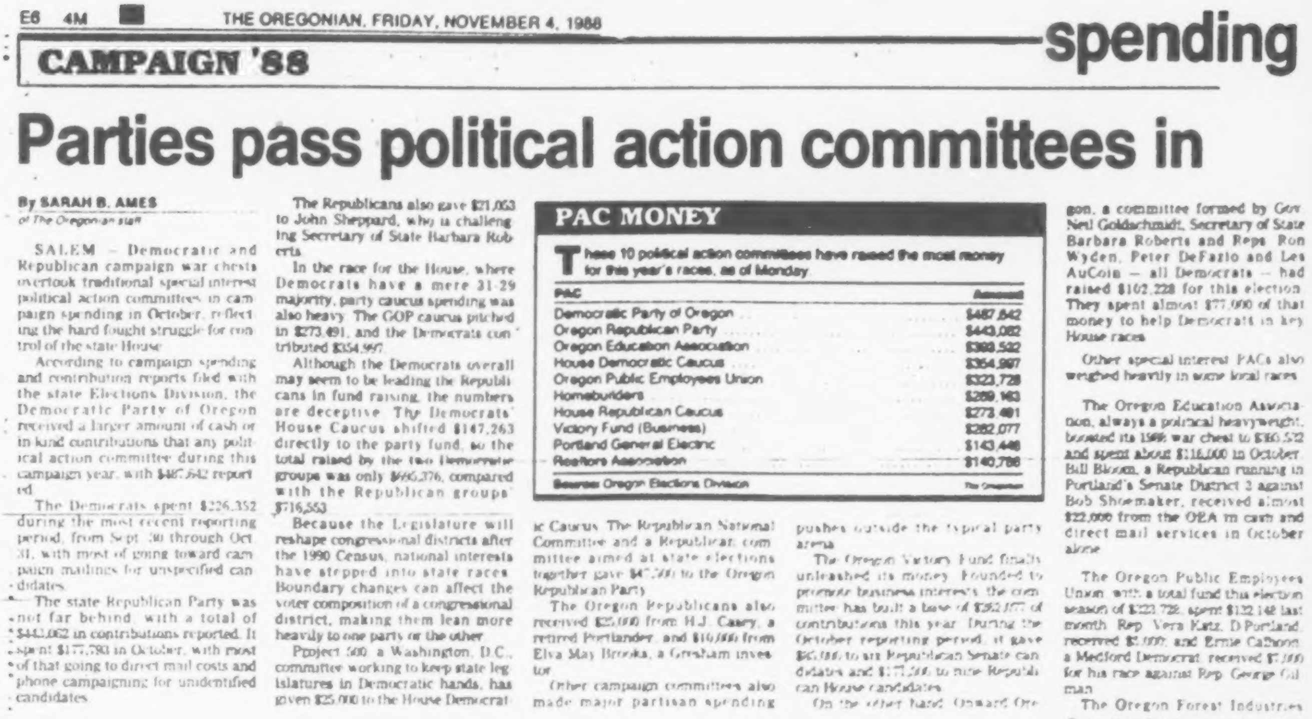
Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, the Democratic vice president nominee, made it clear on the campaign trail last week that Bush, if elected, will be unable to expect much deference from Capitol Hill.

"I don't see how a president has any kind of mandate if he wins by negative advertising," says Bentsen, who is virtually certain to be re-elected to his Texas Senate seat regardless of what happens in the presidential race.

Polls, too, are showing that voters are unhappy with the choices for president and want Congress to have a strong balancing role. A *Wall Street Journal*-NBC poll published Oct. 28 showed that by a 22-point margin, voters prefer to have the White House and Congress controlled by different political parties.

In both the Senate and House, a pro-incumbent bias helps Democrats.

3. Straight news stories follow an outline of what is called the "inverted pyramid" where the most important news comes in the opening or lead paragraphs, supporting details and background information follow, and lesser details are given last.



E6 4M THE OREGONIAN, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1988

CAMPAIGN '88

Parties pass political action committees in spending

By SARAH B. AMES
of The Oregonian staff

SALEM — Democratic and Republican campaign war chests overtook traditional special interest political action committees in campaign spending in October, reflecting the hard fought struggle for control of the state House.

According to campaign spending and contribution reports filed with the state Elections Division, the Democratic Party of Oregon received a larger amount of cash or in kind contributions that any political action committee during this campaign year, with $487,842 reported.

The Democrats spent $226,352 during the most recent reporting period, from Sept. 30 through Oct. 31, with most of going toward campaign mailings for unspecified candidates.

The state Republican Party was not far behind, with a total of $443,062 in contributions reported. It spent $177,780 in October, with most of that going to direct mail costs and phone campaigning for unidentified candidates.

The Republicans also gave $21,063 to John Sheppard, who is challenging Secretary of State Barbara Roberts.

In the race for the House, where Democrats have a mere 31-29 majority, party caucus spending was also heavy. The GOP caucus pitched in $273,491, and the Democrats contributed $354,997.

Although the Democrats overall may seem to be leading the Republicans in fund raising, the numbers are deceptive. The Democrats' House Caucus shifted $147,263 directly to the party fund, so the total raised by the two Democratic groups was only $666,376, compared with the Republican groups' $716,553.

Because the Legislature will reshape congressional districts after the 1990 Census, national interests have stepped into state races. Boundary changes can affect the voter composition of a congressional district, making them lean more heavily to one party or the other.

Project 500, a Washington, D.C., committee working to keep state legislatures in Democratic hands, has given $25,000 to the House Democratic Caucus. The Republican National Committee and a Republican committee aimed at state elections together gave $47,200 to the Oregon Republican Party.

The Oregon Republicans also received $25,000 from H.J. Casey, a retired Portlander, and $10,000 from Elva May Brooks, a Gresham investor.

Other campaign committees also made major partisan spending pushes outside the typical party arena.

The Oregon Victory Fund finally unleashed its money. Founded to promote business interests, the committee has built a base of $282,077 of contributions this year. During the October reporting period, it gave $65,000 to six Republican Senate candidates and $177,200 to nine Republican House candidates.

On the other hand, Onward Oregon, a committee formed by Gov. Neil Goldschmidt, Secretary of State Barbara Roberts and Reps. Ron Wyden, Peter DeFazio and Les AuCoin — all Democrats — had raised $102,228 for this election. They spent almost $77,000 of that money to help Democrats in key House races.

Other special interest PACs also weighed heavily in some local races.

The Oregon Education Association, always a political heavyweight, boosted its 1988 war chest to $388,532 and spent about $116,000 in October. Bill Bloom, a Republican running in Portland's Senate District 3 against Bob Shoemaker, received almost $22,000 from the OEA in cash and direct mail services in October alone.

The Oregon Public Employees Union, with a total fund this election season of $323,728, spent $122,142 last month. Rep. Vera Katz, D-Portland, received $5,000, and Ernie Calhoon, a Medford Democrat, received $7,000 for his race against Rep. George Gilman.

The Oregon Forest Industries Council in October poured $16,200 into Mike Whitty's challenge to Democratic Sen. Bill Bradbury on the south coast and also gave $5,000 to Democrat Wayne Fawbush, running against Republican Bill Bellamy in Senate District 28, along the Columbia River.

Portland General Electric's PAC, worth $143,448 this campaign season, spent $41,275 in October on a large number of legislative candidates.

Other rich political action committees seem to have spent most of their money early and didn't play much part in the most recent reporting period.

The Oregon Homebuilders Association, with a $277,979 fund this campaign year, spent only about $18,975 in October, much of it on city council races around the state. The Oregon Realtors, with a $140,786 PAC this year, spent only $15,687 in October.

Political parties and committees began reporting their finances for the 1988 elections in September 1987. All numbers are cumulative.

PAC MONEY

These 10 political action committees have raised the most money for this year's races, as of Monday.

PAC	Amount
Democratic Party of Oregon	$487,842
Oregon Republican Party	$443,082
Oregon Education Association	$388,532
House Democratic Caucus	$354,997
Oregon Public Employees Union	$323,728
Homebuilders	$289,163
House Republican Caucus	$273,491
Victory Fund (Business)	$282,077
Portland General Electric	$143,448
Realtors Association	$140,786

Source: Oregon Elections Division

The Oregonian

Analyze the style of a breaking election news story. Circle the lead paragraph and label background election information or supporting details. Also, label less important details. Use the lead paragraph to answer these questions:

Who is doing the action? ______________________________

What is the action? ___________________________________

Where did the action take place? _____________________

When did the action take place? ______________________

Look deeper in the story to find out why the action occurred.

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C. News analyses

News analyses during an election often deal with the impact of news events and/or past events on a candidate's chance for success. Analyses, by definition, are interpretive, trying to explain the news by giving background that helps readers put events in perspective.

Analysts must be expert enough to select and use relevant facts and background information to draw logical conclusions. They must be expert writers as well because the outline and organization used to write analyses vary with the content of the story.

Look for stories that interpret or analyze the campaign and/or any other aspect of the election. What is the basis for the story? What is being analyzed? What conclusions are drawn?

Here are two news analysis stories from the 1988 Presidential election.

The Dukakis defeat: Voters wonder 'Where was Mike?'

Missed opportunities, lack of clear message shoot down Democrat

By R. GREGORY NOKES

of The Oregonian staff

ANALYSIS

Michael S. Dukakis' campaign for the presidency started with the rallying cry of "Where was George?" but ended with the unanswered question of "Where was Mike?"

Dukakis campaigned his heart out in the closing days. It was an impressive effort as he dashed 8,500 miles from coast to coast and back in 48 hours, virtually without sleep.

But his tireless pace in the final days raised questions about why he didn't do it earlier. It might not have won for him, but it would have made the race much tighter.

As it was, the Massachusetts governor was soundly beaten by Republican George Bush.

By the time his campaign caught fire, the Democratic candidate was seen as trailing hopelessly, a dramatic turnaround from the seemingly commanding position he held after the Democratic convention in July.

If there was any one turning point, it came in the candidates' second debate in Los Angeles on Oct. 13. Dukakis had been closing on Bush on the strength of an earlier debate victory.

But in Los Angeles, he failed to address questions aimed at probing his emotions and feelings, while Bush did much better. In the days afterward, large numbers of previously undecided voters made up their minds for Bush.

Bush was effective during the campaign with accusations that Dukakis was soft on crime, weak on the environment, inexperienced in foreign policy and a big spending liberal who was certain to raise taxes and drive up inflation.

Dukakis complained of distortions and lies, which Bush denied. But the drumbeat of criticism would have had less impact had Dukakis' own campaigning been effective.

But it wasn't. It seemed flawed throughout by a vague message, by missed opportunities, and by Dukakis' own seeming inability to create a positive image of himself in voters' minds. He and his Massachusetts-based advisers also paid a price for ignoring the advice of party regulars.

"It has been a notoriously bad campaign," said Stephen Hess, a specialist on presidential politics at the Brookings Institution. "I'm not one who says if a candidate can't run a campaign, he can't run the country. But it sure has given us some troubling clues about what sort of president he would be."

However, Hess said that even if Dukakis, or another Democrat, had run a perfect campaign he might not have beaten Bush. And he said the outcome had little to do with the candidates themselves.

"I think basically the candidates win or lose on the fundamentals of the time," he said in a telephone interview from Washington, D.C. "With peace in the world and relative prosperity at home, it would have been very difficult for any Democrat."

Hodding Carter, former assistant secretary of state in the Carter administration who worked in several Democratic campaigns, said Dukakis ran a lousy campaign, but agreed it was an uphill struggle because the peace and prosperity issues were on Bush's side.

"I think he probably had the odds against him at 3-to-2," Carter said in a telephone interview. But he said the Dukakis camp made a major mistake in counting on Bush "to self-destruct," without having any realistic strategy for boosting Dukakis when that didn't happen.

"They didn't understand that negative things work, if you don't offer up anything to voters as an alternative," he said.

Dukakis' challenge was to raise enough questions about the nation's budget and trade deficits — and the nation's plunge into global indebtedness — to convince people it was time for a change.

While he raised the questions, he failed to convince enough voters that he had better answers. In part, he was trapped on the question of raising taxes. Because Dukakis felt it would be political suicide to say he would increase taxes, while Bush was pledging not to, he left himself without a credible plan for reducing the deficit.

On other issues, Dukakis also fared poorly.

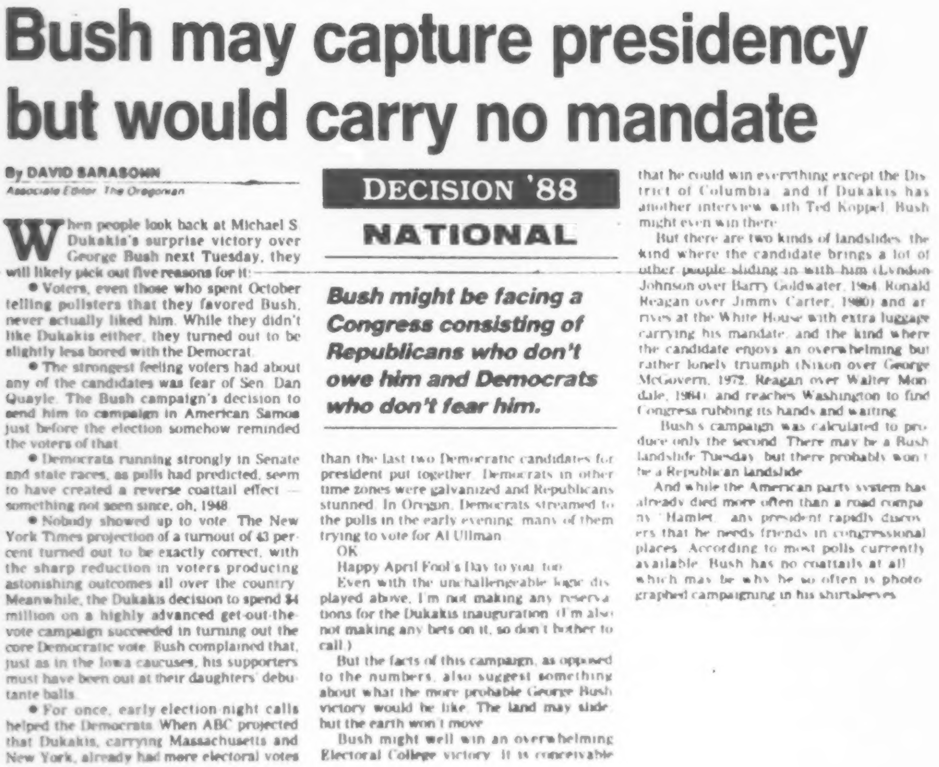
Jesse Jackson, his Democratic rival, virtually handed Dukakis the issues of crime and drugs, having made it a national cause that worked for him in the primary campaign. But like a quarterback who drops the handoff, Dukakis had the issue taken away from him by Bush, who exploited the failures of Massachusetts' prison furlough program.

The same thing happened on the environment. Although the administration looked vulnerable, Dukakis found himself defending his efforts to clean up Boston Harbor, and lost the issue.

His choice of Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas as his running mate was widely applauded, but in the end it didn't appear to win him many votes, not even in Texas, which he lost.

Dukakis also lacked answers for Bush's repeated charges that he was a liberal, although he admitted late in the campaign that he was. But his reluctance to respond earlier frustrated many Democrats.

"The problem with this damn election is that the party is no longer sure of the validity of its past and doesn't have some collective ideas of its future, so people run around and hide," Carter said. "Liberal doesn't have to be more of a cussword than conservative."



Bush may capture presidency but would carry no mandate

By DAVID SARASOHN
Associate Editor The Oregonian

DECISION '88

NATIONAL

When people look back at Michael S. Dukakis's surprise victory over George Bush next Tuesday, they will likely pick out five reasons for it:

- Voters, even those who spent October telling pollsters that they favored Bush, never actually liked him. While they didn't like Dukakis either, they turned out to be slightly less bored with the Democrat.
- The strongest feeling voters had about any of the candidates was fear of Sen. Dan Quayle. The Bush campaign's decision to send him to campaign in American Samoa just before the election somehow reminded the voters of that.
- Democrats running strongly in Senate and state races, as polls had predicted, seem to have created a reverse coattail effect — something not seen since, oh, 1948.
- Nobody showed up to vote. The New York Times projection of a turnout of 43 percent turned out to be exactly correct, with the sharp reduction in voters producing astonishing outcomes all over the country. Meanwhile, the Dukakis decision to spend $4 million on a highly advanced get-out-the-vote campaign succeeded in turning out the core Democratic vote. Bush complained that, just as in the Iowa caucuses, his supporters must have been out at their daughters' debutante balls.
- For once, early election-night calls helped the Democrats. When ABC projected that Dukakis, carrying Massachusetts and New York, already had more electoral votes than the last two Democratic candidates for president put together, Democrats in other time zones were galvanized and Republicans stunned. In Oregon, Democrats streamed to the polls in the early evening, many of them trying to vote for Al Ullman.

OK.

Happy April Fool's Day to you, too.

Even with the unchallengeable logic displayed above, I'm not making any reservations for the Dukakis inauguration. (I'm also not making any bets on it, so don't bother to call.)

But the facts of this campaign, as opposed to the numbers, also suggest something about what the more probable George Bush victory would be like. The land may slide, but the earth won't move.

Bush might well win an overwhelming Electoral College victory. It is conceivable that he could win everything except the District of Columbia, and if Dukakis has another interview with Ted Koppel, Bush might even win there.

Bush might be facing a Congress consisting of Republicans who don't owe him and Democrats who don't fear him.

But there are two kinds of landslides: the kind where the candidate brings a lot of other people sliding in with him (Lyndon Johnson over Barry Goldwater, 1964; Ronald Reagan over Jimmy Carter, 1980) and arrives at the White House with extra luggage carrying his mandate, and the kind where the candidate enjoys an overwhelming but rather lonely triumph (Nixon over George McGovern, 1972; Reagan over Walter Mondale, 1984) and reaches Washington to find Congress rubbing its hands and waiting.

Bush's campaign was calculated to produce only the second. There may be a Bush landslide Tuesday, but there probably won't be a Republican landslide.

And while the American party system has already died more often than a road company "Hamlet," any president rapidly discovers that he needs friends in congressional places. According to most polls currently available, Bush has no coattails at all, which may be why he so often is photographed campaigning in his shirtsleeves.

D. Features

Feature stories are also interpretive but deal with personal rather than political information. During elections, the focus is usually on the candidates' families.

The organization of features varies. They are generally introduced with a soft lead rather than a hard lead, and not a summary lead. A feature should have tone, developed by use of picturesque language and metaphors. Like analyses, features reflect the writing ability of the reporter more than straight news which follow a set outline.

Locate an election story that contains personal rather than political information. Compare the story with straight news stories and analyses in approach and content.

See the following page for examples.

A2 3M THE OREGONIAN, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1988

THE VIEWS *of* GEORGE BUSH

First of two articles

GOP hopeful embodies spirit of '40s generation, ways of both Yankee diplomat, Texas lone ranger

The is the first of two articles on the views of the presidential candidates. An article on the views of Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic candidate, will appear Thursday on this page.

By DAVID HOFFMAN

LA Times-Washington Post Service

Forty four years after it happened, George Bush recalls the day he was shot down in the Pacific during World War II as if it had just occurred. In the middle of his presidential campaign this year, he paused to write a private letter to the niece of a Navy flier, Jack Delaney, who was one of two men killed in his plane in September 1944. The event, he said, "is still very vivid in my mind."

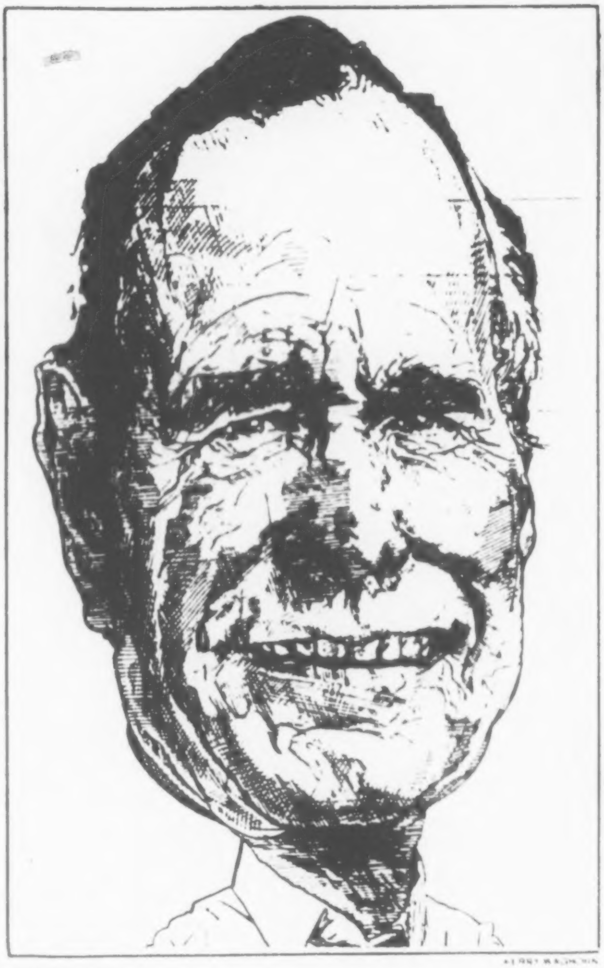
"I felt badly then and I still feel badly now about Jack's death," Bush wrote, recalling that one of the crew members was seen jumping from the burning plane but that his parachute never filled with air.

"I have no proof, but I suspect that was Jack," he said. "I know in my heart of hearts that I did all the right things to help him get out of our plane." He added, "Just understand that your Uncle Jack, though only a kid then, was a wonderful, warm human being. I loved the guy."

"Every generation is a secret society," writes Samuel Hynes, author of "Flights of Passage," a memoir of the Pacific flying war that Bush has praised as an accurate rendition of his own experience. "The secret that my generation — the one that came of age during the Second World War — shared was simply the war itself. We grew up on active duty. I entered Navy Flight School when I was 18. ... The years that in peacetime we would have spent in college, we spent instead first learning to fly and to fight a flying war and then in fighting it. Our secret made us different than those who were older or younger than ourselves, or who were not in the war."

In the aftermath of the Vincennes episode, President Reagan apologized to Iran and eventually approved payment of compensation to the victims. But Bush, who like Hynes came of age in World War II, instinctively identified with the seamen and captain on the Vincennes. He said he would not apologize for the downing of the Iran airplane. "I will never apologize for the United States of America," he frequently declares in his campaign speeches.

Pursues life's missions



GEORGE BUSH
Promotes economic philosophy of risk and reward

Shaped by middle-class life

As a young man, Bush sought to escape from the comfortable surroundings of his childhood in Greenwich, Conn., and that too opened a window on another view of America he still holds dear — the small painted houses, the backyard barbecues, the Friday night football games of his years in Texas. Regardless of his birthright, Bush has worked throughout his life to be just one of the gang.

The Bush family reveled in the middle-class life of Midland. Bush seemed to be Mr. Everyman: YMCA founder and fund raiser, church elder, Sunday school teacher, baseball coach, bowling team member. "Midland is kind of the middle-class proving ground for Bush," said Roger M. Olien, a regional historian. "George and Barbara were plain folks. What they mean by that here is, despite the pedigree, they went through the same thing everybody else did, of carpools, Little League baseball."

Candidates say they like each other

WASHINGTON (AP) — George Bush on Saturday admitted to "a certain pleasantness" when he's together with Michael Dukakis, but hold on.

"I've been accused of liking ... almost everybody," Bush said.

Bush and Dukakis were interviewed by David Frost for an hour-long TV program called *The Next President: The Final Chapter.*

Frost put the question about liking the opponent to both candidates.

"I don't normally get personally angry or annoyed at the people that I run against," Dukakis said.

He said he was disappointed at Bush's campaign. "There's something I think out of character about this, and there are people who know him who believe that," Dukakis said.

As for Bush, he said, too, that he didn't know his opponent well.

"But the contacts I've had with him have been very pleasant," Bush said. "But I've been accused of liking, liking, you know, almost everybody."

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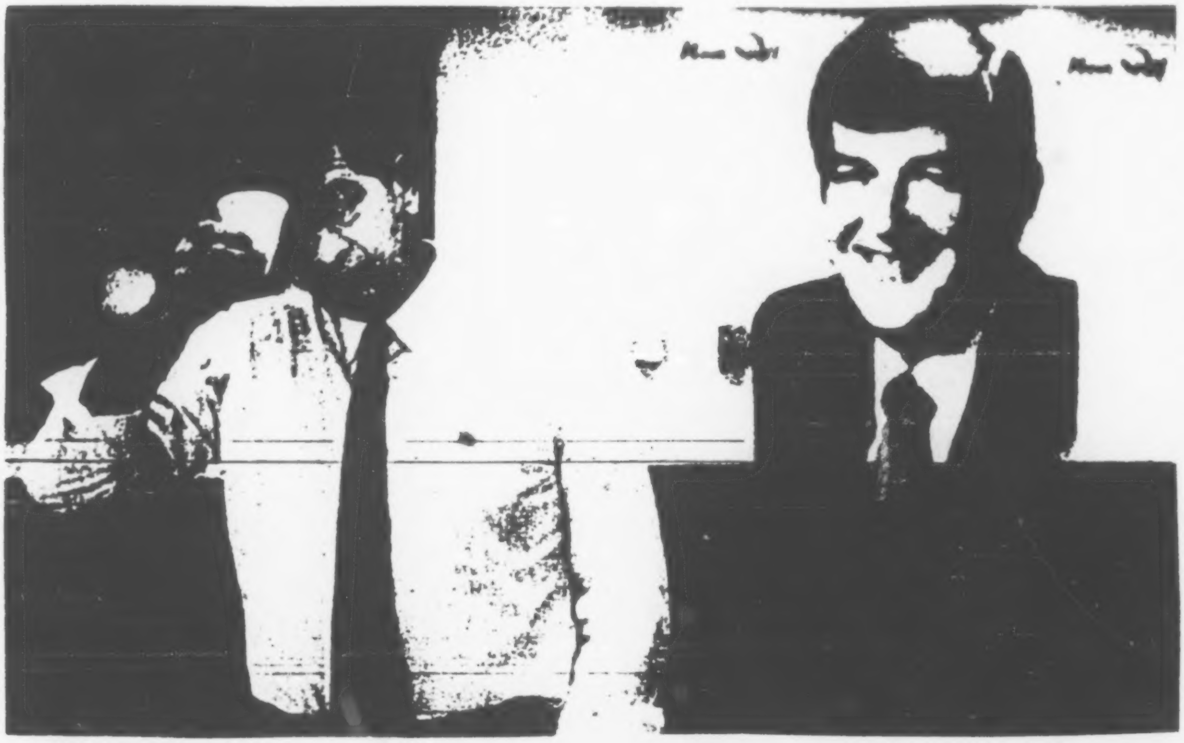
E. Photos and other art

Photos accompany all types of news stories. Photographs of candidates on the campaign trail often show them making speeches, kissing babies, shaking hands, or meeting with special groups.

Look at the following photographs of candidates running for public office. Select two of the photos and use the following questions to judge the impact of each photo.

	CANDIDATE ONE	CANDIDATE TWO
Who is the candidate?		
What is happening in the photo?		
Where was the photo taken?		
When was it taken?		
Was the event planned or spontaneous?		
Would the candidate like this photo?		

Could the photo be used against the candidate by the opposition? If so, how?



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Ron Still, City of Portland mayor's race, 1988.

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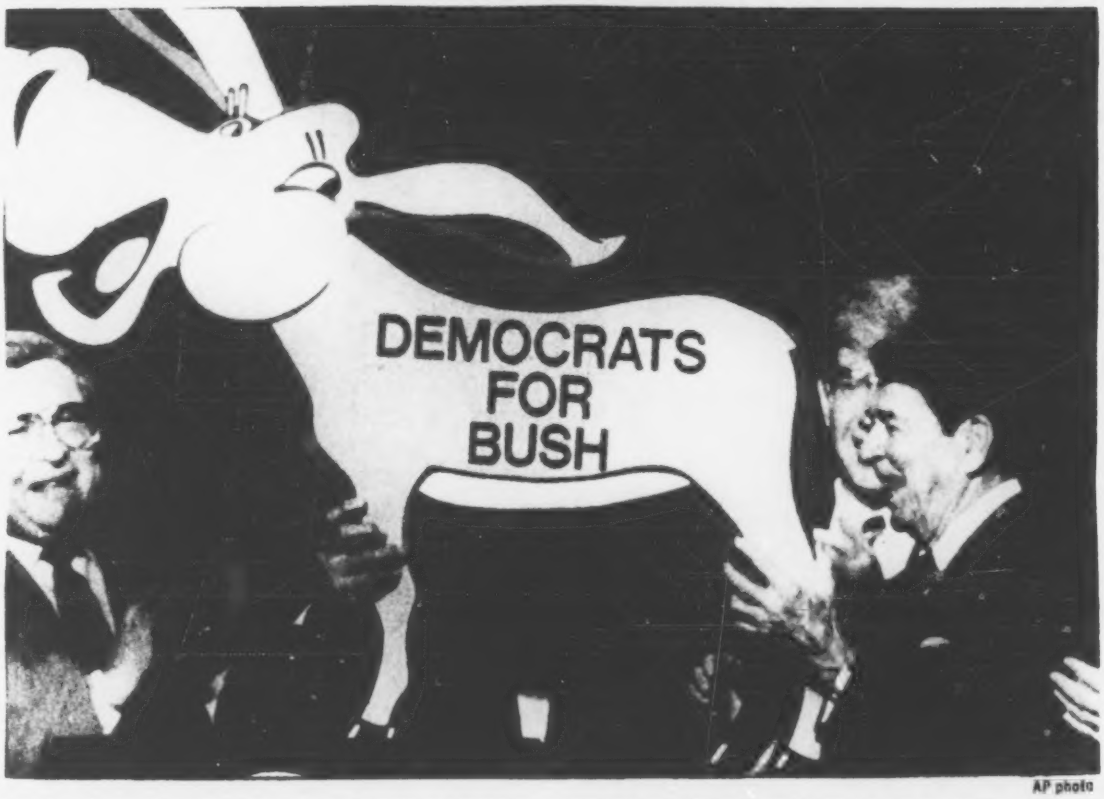
DEMOCRATS
FOR
BUSH

AP photo

Oakland County Prosecutor L. Brooks Patterson (left) and U.S. Rep. Jack Kemp of New York join President Reagan as he is presented a donkey sign Saturday in Detroit, Mich.

NEXT STOP
1600 PENN. AVE.

AP photo

White House Express Democrat Michael Dukakis holds up a suitcase at the Lansing, Mich., airport during a quick campaign stop.

Bud Clark, who stressed his Democratic connections in the non-partisan mayor's race, talks with Michael S. Dukakis during a Dukakis rally in Portland

WHOOP
WHOOP

A window at Ron Still's campaign headquarters sports Still's likeness and his message about Bud Clark's trademark cry . .

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Here are highlights from Thursday's appearances by the presidential and vice- presidential candidates

Associated Press

Actor Arnold Schwarzenegger introduces George Bush to a crowd Thursday in Columbus, Ohio.

Dukakis hails rally crowd, backed by Local 338 President Bruce Walter and Congressman Bill Foley (right)

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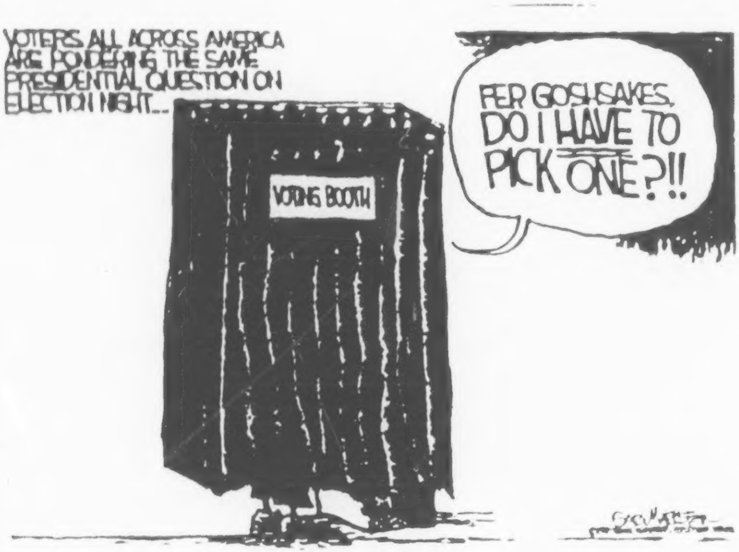
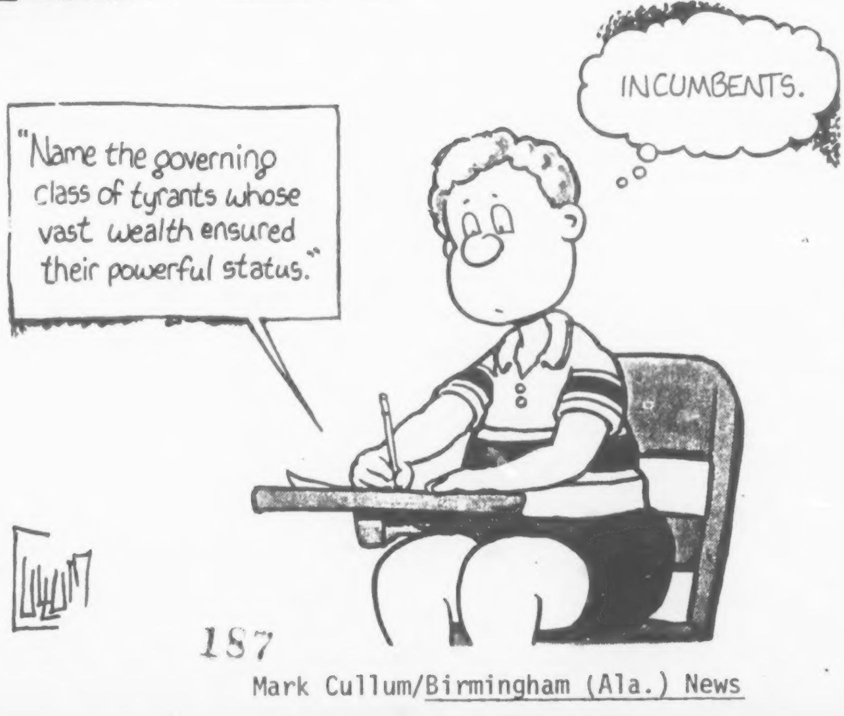
F. Editorial cartoons

The newspaper's editorial page discusses ideas for political cartoons when they discuss the content for editorials. The cartoon is simply an editorial in visual form and, therefore, reflects the philosophy of the newspaper.

Study the following cartoons about elections. Tell what you think the cartoon is saying in straight editorial fashion.

Gary Markstein/Arizona Tribune


VOTERS ALL ACROSS AMERICA ARE PONDERING THE SAME PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION ON ELECTION NIGHT...
VOTING BOOTH
FER GOSHSAKES, DO I HAVE TO PICK ONE?!!


INCUMBENTS.
"Name the governing class of tyrants whose vast wealth ensured their powerful status."
CULLUM

Mark Cullum/Birmingham (Ala.) News

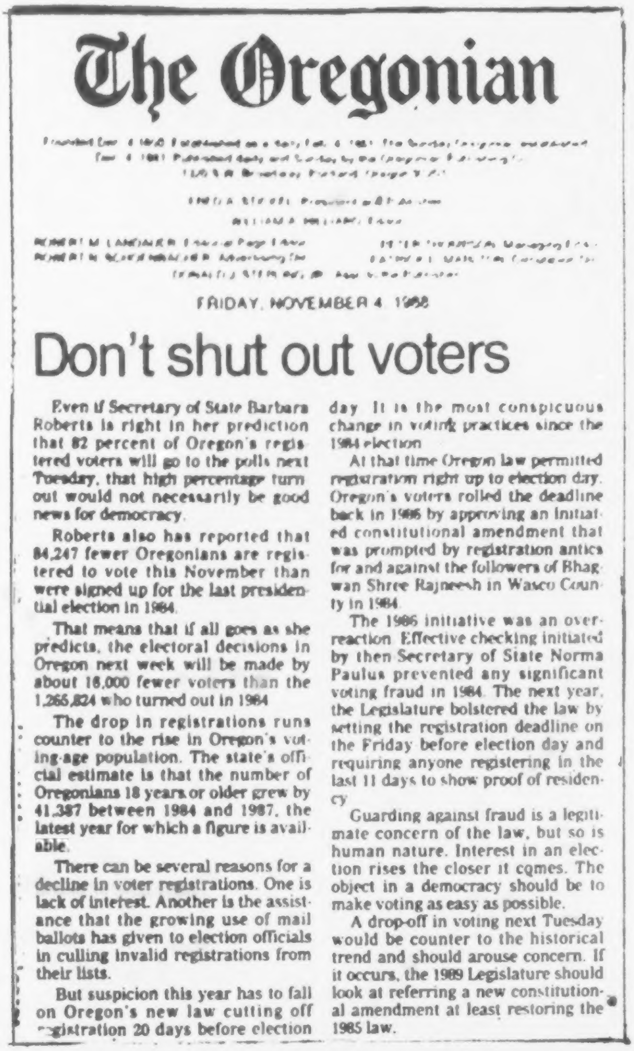
G. Editorials

The editorial and opposite editorial pages carry stories that are different from straight news and analysis. Unsigned editorials express the position of the newspaper and appear on the left-hand side of the editorial page.

Editorials present the newspaper's view, hoping to raise questions and stimulate thinking on the subject. They give specific opinions on specific subjects, i.e., why the position on a key issue is wrong or not the best. Editorials are logical and are written like essays. Positions are taken, explained, and restated in the closing paragraph.

Any opinions about candidates including endorsements should be reserved for the editorial page. Straight news stories and election analyses should not express the opinions of the newspaper's reporters, editors, or publisher.

Read the editorial below.
What issues are mentioned? What opinion is expressed? On what is the opinion based?



The Oregonian

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1988

Don't shut out voters

Even if Secretary of State Barbara Roberts is right in her prediction that 82 percent of Oregon's registered voters will go to the polls next Tuesday, that high percentage turnout would not necessarily be good news for democracy.

Roberts also has reported that 84,247 fewer Oregonians are registered to vote this November than were signed up for the last presidential election in 1984.

That means that if all goes as she predicts, the electoral decisions in Oregon next week will be made by about 18,000 fewer voters than the 1,266,824 who turned out in 1984.

The drop in registrations runs counter to the rise in Oregon's voting-age population. The state's official estimate is that the number of Oregonians 18 years or older grew by 41,387 between 1984 and 1987, the latest year for which a figure is available.

There can be several reasons for a decline in voter registrations. One is lack of interest. Another is the assistance that the growing use of mail ballots has given to election officials in culling invalid registrations from their lists.

But suspicion this year has to fall on Oregon's new law cutting off registration 20 days before election day. It is the most conspicuous change in voting practices since the 1984 election.

At that time Oregon law permitted registration right up to election day. Oregon's voters rolled the deadline back in 1986 by approving an initiated constitutional amendment that was prompted by registration antics for and against the followers of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh in Wasco County in 1984.

The 1986 initiative was an overreaction. Effective checking initiated by then Secretary of State Norma Paulus prevented any significant voting fraud in 1984. The next year, the Legislature bolstered the law by setting the registration deadline on the Friday before election day and requiring anyone registering in the last 11 days to show proof of residency.

Guarding against fraud is a legitimate concern of the law, but so is human nature. Interest in an election rises the closer it comes. The object in a democracy should be to make voting as easy as possible.

A drop-off in voting next Tuesday would be counter to the historical trend and should arouse concern. If it occurs, the 1989 Legislature should look at referring a new constitutional amendment at least restoring the 1985 law.

Now study the charts below. These statistics about voter participation and voter registration and turnout were printed in the 1989-90 Oregon Blue Book. Would this evidence argue for or against the Oregonian's November 4 editorial?

VOTER PARTICIPATION

Primary Election Year	Registered Voters	Voted	Percent	General Election Year	Registered Voters	Voted	Percent
1968*	996,662	725,431	72.8	1968*	971,851	824,562	84.8
1970	1,018,017	568,551	55.8	1970	955,459	681,381	71.3
1972*	1,158,711	734,551	63.4	1972*	1,197,676	953,376	79.6
1974	1,218,596	593,172	47.5	1974	1,143,073	792,557	69.3
1976*	1,310,248	798,986	61.0	1976*	1,420,146	1,048,561	73.8
1978	1,390,005	603,478	43.4	1978	1,482,339	937,423	63.2
1980*	1,376,573	780,649	56.7	1980*	1,569,222	1,209,691	77.1
1982	1,437,693	669,529	46.6	1982	1,516,589	1,063,913	70.2
1984*	1,457,067	767,565	52.7	1984*	1,608,693	1,265,824	78.7
1986	1,458,300	693,821	47.6	1986	1,502,244	1,088,140	72.4
1988*	1,366,294	753,112	55.1	1988*	1,528,478	1,235,199	80.8

*Presidential election year.

VOTER REGISTRATION AND TURNOUT BY COUNTY

November, 1988

County	Democrat	Republican	Other	Total Registration
Baker	4,099	3,556	831	8,486
Benton	17,193	15,974	5,831	38,998
Clackamas	70,116	62,567	20,537	153,220
Clatsop	9,506	6,323	2,561	18,390
Columbia	11,742	5,593	1,989	19,324
Coos	18,156	9,857	3,321	31,334
Crook	3,558	2,672	815	7,045
Curry	5,174	4,874	1,376	11,424
Deschutes	17,619	16,924	5,399	39,942
Douglas	23,597	20,085	5,449	49,131
Gilliam	539	489	85	1,113
Grant	2,197	2,078	549	4,824
Harney	1,842	1,680	430	3,952
Hood River	3,862	3,292	1,244	8,398
Jackson	33,241	33,408	11,763	78,412
Jefferson	2,809	2,613	763	6,185
Josephine	13,830	16,213	4,334	34,377
Klamath	14,357	13,744	3,665	31,766
Lake	2,207	1,894	366	4,467
Lane	76,965	51,865	18,623	147,453
Lincoln	11,229	7,691	2,974	21,894
Linn	23,094	17,560	6,019	46,673
Malheur	4,584	6,304	1,295	12,183
Marion	49,377	49,037	14,260	112,674
Morrow	1,940	1,522	531	3,993
Multnomah	189,235	105,985	45,054	340,274
Polk	11,581	11,653	3,169	26,403
Sherman	565	578	133	1,276
Tillamook	6,584	4,450	1,251	12,285
Umatilla	11,027	10,495	3,343	24,865
Union	6,186	5,597	1,635	13,418
Wallowa	2,195	1,873	383	4,451
Wasco	6,265	4,502	1,621	12,388
Washington	67,083	73,862	24,216	165,161
Wheeler	403	370	113	886
Yamhill	13,532	13,468	4,413	31,413
TOTAL	737,489	590,648	200,341	1,528,478

Newspapers also use their editorial pages to announce the candidates and issue positions that they recommend to their readers. These recommendations are called endorsements.

Below are the endorsements of the Oregonian for the 1988 general election.

Election recommendations listed

The Oregonian endorses the following candidates in contested races and recommends the following decisions on ballot measures in the Tuesday, Nov. 8, general election.

National

President

George Bush

U.S. House

Dist. 1: Les AuCoin
Dist. 2: Larry Tuttle
Dist. 4: Peter DeFazio
Dist. 5: Denny Smith

State of Oregon

Supreme Court: Edward N. Fadeley
Secretary of State: Barbara Roberts
State Treasurer: Anthony (Tony) Meeker
Attorney General: Dave Frohnmayer

State Senate

Dist. 3: Bob Shoemaker
Dist. 6: Dick Springer
Dist. 7: Shirley Gold

State House
(Multnomah County)

Dist. 10: Vera Katz
Dist. 11: Tom Mason
Dist. 12: Phil Keisling
Dist. 14: Beverly Stein
Dist. 15: Gene Sayler
Dist. 16: Rodger Wehage
Dist. 18: Margaret Carter
Dist. 19: Ron Cease
Dist. 20: Estill N. Deitz
Dist. 22: Rick Kotulski

State House
(Washington County)

Dist. 2: Mike Maki
Dist. 6: Delna Jones
Dist. 9: Tom Brian

State House
(Clackamas County)

Dist. 24: Bob Shiprack
Dist. 25: Steve Cotton
Dist. 26: Larry Sowa
Dist. 27: Judie Hammerstad
Dist. 30: Cedric Hayden

Oregon Measures

No. 1: Extends governor's veto deadline, requires advance notice of veto — Vote no.

No. 2: Allows common school fund investments in stocks, using income for state lands management — Vote yes.

No. 3: Requires use of safety belts by motor vehicle drivers and passengers — Vote yes.

No. 4: Requires full sentences without parole, probation for certain repeat felonies — Vote no.

No. 5: Finances intercollegiate athletic fund by increasing malt beverage (beer), cigarette taxes — Vote no.

No. 6: Bans smoking in most indoor, enclosed workplaces and places serving the public — Vote no.

No. 7: Extends Oregon Scenic Waterways System protections on 11 Oregon rivers — Vote yes.

No. 8: Revokes governor's order banning discrimination based on sexual orientation in state executive branch — Vote no.

Multnomah County

Auditor: Mark Peterson

City of Portland

Mayor: J.E. (Bud) Clark

City of Gresham

Mayor: Larry Deyo

Clackamas County

County Commission Pos. 1: Darlene Hooley
County Commission Pos. 3: Ed Lindquist
Assessor: Ray Erland

Washington County

Beaverton Measure

No. 34-12: Revises city charter to change form of government to council-manager type — Vote no.

Metro Service District

Dist. 8: Elsa Coleman
Dist. 10: Roger Buchanan

State of Washington

U.S. Senate

Mike Lowry

U.S. House

Dist. 3: Jolene Unsoeld

Governor

Booth Gardner

Washington Measures

Initiative No. 518: Increases state minimum wage from $2.30 to $3.85 Jan. 1, 1989, and then to $4.25 Jan. 1, 1990 — Vote yes.

Initiative 97 and Alternative Measure 97B: Hazardous waste cleanup program (two-part ballot question) — First, vote "for either"; then vote for Alternative Measure 97B.

Because editorials and endorsements are opinions of the newspaper editors, readers often strongly agree or disagree. Below are a few examples of responses evoked from the readers from editorials and endorsements which appeared in the newspaper's editorial pages.

LETTERS

Pravda less biased

To the Editor: It is too bad The Oregonian's editors do not have the intestinal fortitude to admit they are anti-Republicans, support any and all Democrats and give 110 percent support to extreme liberals. It is easy to see which way to vote. Just vote the opposite of The Oregonian's recommendations. Of course, if one is an extreme liberal, you follow these recommendations with glee. Pravda seems to be less biased than The Oregonian.

W.C. JONES
Newport

Not surprised

To the Editor: Your self-serving endorsement of George Bush for president comes as no surprise. The surprise lies in the editorial supporting the endorsement. The writer was hard pressed to give some solid reasons for the action. Unfortunately, the comparison of the two candidates you made shows clearly that Michael Dukakis has a far better record than your choice.

GLENN BARKER
Tillamook

Deny Bush office

To the Editor: If you were to reread your own editorials of the last few years, you might reconsider your endorsement of George Bush for president.

Just last month, you ran a logical, well-written editorial pleading with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to obey the law with respect to fish protection. The previous month, you asked the Department of Interior to perform its duty properly. Nearly every month, you ask some branch of the government to obey the law or perform its assigned mission. This should not be necessary.

But it is clear by now that there are people in Washington who hold that it is not only permissible, but even praiseworthy, for the executive branch to ignore or evade the Constitution, statutory laws, expressed will of the people and international law.

It is also clear that Bush is an advocate of this lawless and dangerous point of view. His denials of knowledge of the Iran hostage-Contra deals and of the Manuel Noriega dope deals are just not credible.

The Constitution is the very foundation of our nation and its freedom. We should deny office to those who would trash it or shred it and those who condone such assaults.

D.C. JOHNSON
Southeast Portland

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H. Letters to the editor

Letters to the editor which also appear on the editorial pages express readers' opinions. To be accepted for publication, the letters must be brief, must offer reasons for the positions taken in support of a candidate or issue, must not resort to name calling or profanity, and must not contain libelous statements. Letters will vary in tone and approach.

a. Do you recall the activity about Ballot Measure 5 (pp. 161-164)? This measure proposed to tax beer and cigarettes in order to finance collegiate athletics. There are three letters to the editor about Ballot Measure 5 on the opposite page (p. 193).

Read the letters and fill in the chart below:

Letter One: Writer: ______________________________

Opinion Expressed: ______________________________

____

Supporting Facts: ______________________________

____

Letter Two: Writer: ______________________________

Opinion Expressed: ______________________________

____

Supporting Facts: ______________________________

____

Letter Three: Writer: ______________________________

Opinion Expressed: ______________________________

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Supporting Facts: ______________________________

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WHICH OF THE LETTERS WAS MOST PERSUASIVE, IN YOUR OPINION? WHY?

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LETTERS

Resents beer barons

To the Editor: I resent the attempt by the nation's beer barons to paint me and my fellow Viking Athletic Association board members as "fat cats" trying to escape the financial responsibility for college athletics.

Our 30-member board of directors does what it can financially and puts in countless volunteer hours to try raising enough money for athletic scholarships for women's and men's athletics at Portland State University.

Oregonians ought to repudiate this attempt to brand our residents and buy an election by voting "yes" on Measure 5, giving a penny for college sports.

JOHN WYKOFF, president
Viking Athletic Association
Northeast Portland

Invest in colleges

To the Editor: I have served for 21 years at Oregon State University as football coach, athletic director and special assistant to the Beaver Club.

We must pass Ballot Measure 5 or our non-income sports and women's programs at our universities and state colleges will be badly hurt or even eliminated. If this happens, the opportunity for athletes to stay in Oregon to further their education will be greatly reduced.

Strong college athletic programs keep Oregonians in the state. A full 60 percent of the proceeds will go directly to the men's and women's non-revenue producing program, with the balance going to income producing sports.

We Oregonians take great pride in the success of our athletes and the international attention they bring to Oregon.

I urge my many friends to vote yes on Measure 5. It is an investment in our colleges, our children, our future.

DEE G. ANDROS
Corvallis

'Pay at the gate'

To the Editor: Ballot Measure 5 is the wrong tax for the wrong things at the wrong time on the wrong people.

John K. Gramm, in his defense of the measure (Forum, Oct. 26) offers such rationales as "the deficits of the athletic departments at our three universities will top $1 million next year." Are the academic departments allowed to operate with such deficits?

Gramm addresses the fact that sports other than football and basketball "don't have the same amount of publicity." Each of the universities has a publicity department. Can't they work on this problem?

Gramm states that "60 percent of the money must go directly to programs that can't financially support themselves." If that is the criterion, why not 100 percent to such programs? Why not operate that deficit program there?

Again, Gramm says that "sports are big business in this country and for Oregon." Then run it like a business.

Finally, he addresses the problem of high school students having "the door to a college education opened to them because of their athletic gifts," and that "just one cent will keep our best and brightest here in Oregon."

Is he kidding? After 30 years of teaching, I can attest to the fact that our best and our brightest are not the exclusive domain of the athletic departments and make every attempt to go to schools where they will get the best opportunity to apply such knowledge and skills.

Let people pay at the gate or let the athletic programs seek some other way to solve their deficit.

HAL F. SWAFFORD
Southwest Portland

Ballot Measure 5 was defeated at the polls. Below is an article about its defeat and the impact of political advertising. One example of an ad is included, as well.

Voters reject tax for college sports

☐ Tax on cigarette and beer meets with strong resistance from Oregon voters

By JEFF BAKER
of The Oregonian staff

The athletic departments at Oregon and Oregon State lost another big one Tuesday when Measure 5, which would have increased beer and cigarette taxes to pay for college sports, was soundly defeated by state voters.

Measure 5 was being trounced by almost a 2-1 ratio, and its supporters and opponents agreed that a well-financed negative campaign was responsible for its defeat. The measure would have raised about $9 million for state athletic departments through a one-cent increase in the cigarette tax and a 10-cent per gallon increase in the beer tax. Oregon and Oregon State would have gotten about $3 million each, and Portland State and the four smaller state colleges would have divided the rest.

The beer and cigarette industries contributed around $900,000 to the Coalition Against Regressive Taxation, which produced a media campaign that focused on working-class voters and made heavy use of television commercials. The Measure 5 support group, One Cent for Sports, raised about $400,000.

"I think the argument that really hit home was the regressive nature of this tax," said Paul Romain, chairman of CART. "This issue was very income sensitive — the lower the income group, the more they were against it. It was also age sensitive — once we got past about age 30, people were strongly against it."

The athletic boosters who backed Measure 5 agreed that CART's advertising blitz made the difference, and felt their side was more difficult to explain to voters.

"When we were able to talk to people, we could convince them of our position," said Bob Herndon, president of the Beaver Club. "I believe we were running ahead until about 10 days ago when this heavy advertising by the other side really hit."

A particularly memorable CART commercial showed a group of fat-cat boosters plotting to get their football team to the Rose Bowl, and showed them planning to make a contruction worker pay the bill. The One Cent for Sports members said the ad was unfair and noted that 60 percent of the money raised by Measure 5 would go to non-revenue sports, but Romain defended it.

"That was a great ad," he said. "TV is a difficult medium to convey a message in 30 seconds, and the message we wanted to convey with that ad was that this was income sensitive. We wanted to say 'this is where it hits.'"

Oregon Athletic Director Bill Byrne, who noted that CART commercials ran during the Ducks' game on television against UCLA Saturday, said the beer industry was worried about a national precedent if Measure 5 passed.

"They were determined to squash any kind of tax," Byrne said. "They tried to scare people by saying there would be no money for prisons or the transplant program or the gang problem, and I think we were hurt by the normal reluctance of people to vote yes on any kind of a tax increase."

Some Measure 5 supporters said their effort was worthwhile because it raised public awareness of the problem of funding college athletics. They pointed out during the campaign that Oregon is one of the few states that gives no state support to college sports, and that federal Title IX had forced athletic departments to add women's sports without any additional funding.

"We think people aren't opposed to state support for college athletics, they were just opposed to this method of funding," said Lynn Snyder, Oregon State athletic director. "We need to go forward to the Legislature real strongly and convince them to help us."

Both Byrne and Snyder said Measure 5's defeat would not force them to cut their budgets immediately because they are in the middle of a fiscal year that ends in July, but they were not optimistic about the future. Both the Oregon and Oregon State athletic departments are carrying substantial deficits, as is Portland State.

"There may be some effect (this year)," said Snyder, whose department's deficit is well over $1 million. "Over a long period, yes. We're setting up next year's budget now, and if we don't get some help from the Legislature, we will be cutting."

WHAT'S MORE IMPORTANT?

What do you think the state's funding priorities should be?

- ☐ Combat our soaring crime rate
- ☐ Escalate our war on drugs
- ☐ Provide additional support for our underfunded schools
- ☐ House homeless families
- ☐ Keep our children out of street gangs and in the schools
- ☐ Fund organ donor program
- ☐ Sponsor college scholarships for Oregon's needy students
- ☐ Fund mental health research and treatment programs
- ☐ Clean up the environment and toxic waste sites
- ☐ Fund retraining programs for Oregon's unemployed workers
- ☐ Reduce prison overcrowding
- ☐ Improve services for Oregon's thousands of abused children
- ? ☐ Fund intercollegiate sports

With so many real problems facing Oregonians, do we really need to spend $9,000,000 in new tax money on college sports? Of course we don't.

VOTE NO ON 5

NO MORE TAXES

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Oregonian, November 9, 1988.

b. Voice your opinion. Write a letter to the editor expressing your opinion on a current political issue or candidate running for office.

Dear Editor ...

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I. Columns

Columns which appear on the editorial and opposite editorial pages express the views of the columnists. Those that appear on the editorial page are similar to views held by the newspaper, but the opinion belongs to the columnist. Columns on the opposite editorial page represent different opinions and offer readers opportunities to read opinions that are different from those of the newspaper.

Columns can be either emotional or logical or a combination, depending on the writer. The organization of columns varies. The columnist is freer to determine the style and content of his work than other newspaper writers are. Some columns are personal and reminiscent. Others are satirical.

EXTRA CREDIT:

Keep up with one opinion columnist for a period of time by reading and collecting his or her columns. Then, on separate paper, write an essay on his or her particular style, philosophy, subject matter, etc. You might choose satirists like Mike Royko, Russell Baker or Art Buchwald or other columnists like James Kilpatrick, William Safire, Mary McGrory, or William Raspberry.

Two examples of columns are found on the opposite page. Mike Royko is known for his humor, or satire, in his writing. Jack Anderson often writes columns about his investigations into government agencies. This column, however, discusses the right to vote.

Read my lips: Let's put a bet on 'no new taxes'

By MIKE ROYKO

My conservative friend Grump looked alarmed. He stared at my face for several seconds, then said: "What's wrong with you? Have you developed a twitch?"

Nothing is wrong with me.

"Then why are you wiggling your lips that way?"

I wasn't wiggling my lips. I was speaking to you.

"But you weren't saying anything."

Of course I was. And if you read my lips, you would have understood.

"Read your lips? I can't read lips."

I'm sorry, but I thought all Republicans could read lips. I mean, George Bush is always saying, "Read my lips," so I assumed that this was a common Republican skill.

"You don't understand. He says that for emphasis, to drive home a point, to make sure that people understand that he means what he says."

ROYKO

Ah, I understand. When he says "Read my lips, no new taxes," he wants us to make no mistake about it — there will be no new taxes when he is in the White House.

"Exactly. Now, what were you trying to say when you were wiggling your lips at me?"

What I was saying was: Read my lips. I want to make a bet with you.

"What kind of bet."

Read my lips: I want to make a big bet.

"How big a bet?"

Read my lips: I want to bet $5,000.

"That is a considerable sum. And what is it you wish to bet on?"

Read my lips: I will bet you $5,000 that George Bush is feeding us a line of doo-doo, to use one of his favorite macho words.

"Be careful. I will not tolerate any insults directed at our pollster-designated commander-in-chief."

Syndicated columnist Mike Royko writes for The Chicago Tribune.

Don't change the subject. Are you a betting man or aren't you?

"You haven't even said what we will be betting on."

All right. Read my lips. I bet you five Big Ones that if George Bush becomes president, our taxes will go up.

"Just one moment. He didn't say taxes wouldn't go up. He said no new taxes."

Don't play word games, Grump. If taxes go up, the increase is new. So any tax increase amounts to new taxes.

"And you are willing to bet $5,000 that he will do this?"

Read my lips. No new taxes is a lot of doo-doo.

"You have become increasingly offensive."

Hey, it's a living.

"What you're saying, in your usually crude way, is that George Bush is not being sincere."

Read my lips. He's flat-out lying.

"By George, if it weren't illegal, I'd toss my glove in your face and challenge you to a duel."

Never mind the doo-doo. Are you going to take the bet or aren't you?

"Betting is illegal."

So is selling weapons to the ayatollah. Come on, Grump, Columbus took a chance.

"How do you intend to structure this bet?"

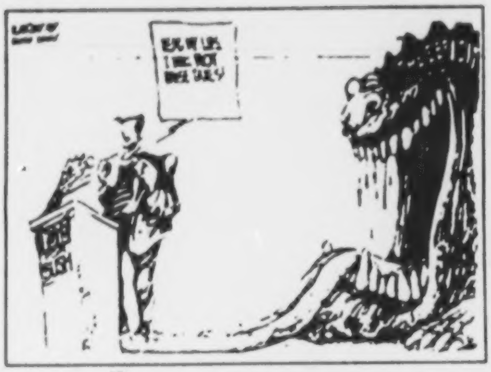
We will each come up with 5 Gs, cash money. We'll put it in an interest-bearing escrow account. Then we will wait. If, after four years, there is no tax increase, you win. If there is a tax increase — which is a sure thing — I win.

"Taxes are a complex matter. Sometimes a tax increase isn't really an increase at all, but in economic theory, it is a decrease."

Read my lips: That is deep doo-doo you are talking. We'll know if it is an increase. But to be certain, we will jointly select a neutral tax expert. Or even a panel of experts. And we will let them decide if a tax increase really is a tax increase.

"I'll have to think about it."

Think about it? Grump, read my lips. You are chicken.



"I don't have to tolerate insults."

Read my lips. You are worse than chicken. You are a quail, which is a tiny chicken.

"You are trying to provoke me into a rash act."

Read my lips. Are you betting or ain't you?

"I think I should get odds. How about two to one?"

I was right. You are a quail.

"Enough. Yes, there will be new taxes. But it will be the fault of the Democrats in Congress."

Read my lips. That isn't what Bush has been saying. He's been saying: Read my lips. No new taxes. So let's not start making excuses before the dirty deed is even done.

"I don't have to listen to this scurrilous bilge. Keep your bet. I have better things to do."

Yes, you can put up some more Willie Horton posters.

"Goodbye, you pinko."

With that, Grump was gone. But I haven't given up.

Read my lips: Any Republican out there who wants to cover my bet, just give me a call. It will prove you aren't a quail.

Just a pigeon.

© 1988 The Chicago Tribune

Voting: When others fight and die for the privilege

By JACK ANDERSON
and DALE VAN ATTA

If as many people voted for independent presidential candidate John Anderson in 1980 as claim to, Ronald Reagan wouldn't be president of the United States today. In the euphoria about Reagan that has become vogue, it is tough to find anyone who contributed to his landslide victory — about as tough as finding anyone who voted for Richard Nixon. "Don't blame me. I voted for George McGovern" was the baby boomers' cry of the '70s. "Don't blame me. I voted for John Anderson," has replaced it in the '80s.

ANDERSON

The moral of the story is this: Despite the moaning and groaning of voters, 1988 is not the first time that people have despaired of not having a clear-cut choice for president. And it will not be the last.

Blame the primary system, blame the media, blame the "handlers" and the "spin doctors." But the reality is, the American electoral process does not produce heroes or gods and probably never has. It produces men and women who aren't much different from ourselves.

If you want Mother Teresa for president, you must lay down your guns and give all your money to the poor. If you want Ollie North for president, you must shred the Constitution and rearrange Miss Liberty to put her hand over her heart.

The heroes of the left and the right simply won't make it on the ballot, and so we are left with George Bush and Michael S. Dukakis — nobody's heroes, but our consensus nevertheless.

Tomorrow, all registered American voters are entitled to walk into a polling booth, close the curtain behind them and pull the levers, push the buttons or punch the holes.

Nothing short of death should keep voters away — especially not a malaise about choices. Imagine voters in the Soviet Union being offered a free and open election for the first time, and then imagine them staying home because the debate bored them or the media trivialized the issues or the candidates weren't dynamic enough.

It's an old saw, but still true, that every vote counts.

Had James G. Blaine received one more vote per precinct in New York state in 1884, he, not Grover Cleveland, would have been elected to the White House.

An extra vote in each precinct in California in 1916 would have meant victory for Charles Evans Hughes over Woodrow Wilson.

In 1876, an Indiana voter insisted on leaving his sickbed to cast his ballot in a congressional contest. His man won by a single vote and was named to a commission chosen to referee contested returns in the presidential race between Samuel J. Tilden and Rutherford B. Hayes. The congressman sided with Hayes, to whom the commission awarded the disputed votes by an 8-7 decision. The result: Hayes became president of the United States by an electoral vote of 185 to 184.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy beat Richard M. Nixon by a popular vote margin that averaged less than one ballot for each of the nation's 166,137 election precincts.

Ignore the polls. As Gov. Michael S. Dukakis has correctly pointed out, he had a commanding lead in the polls when he was running for a second term in Massachusetts in 1978 and he lost on Election Day. The polls come close to predicting whom people will vote for, but they cannot accurately predict who will get out and vote Tuesday.

The responsibility inherent in casting that single vote is staggering and the privilege a genuinely unique one that people in other countries have begged and died for.

With the vote, we affirm our faith in the people and the institution. We become a participant instead of a spectator. That isn't starry-eyed utopianism. It is a step toward our goals as a nation. Lasting peace, elimination of poverty, the end of human misery are all improbable to the cynic. That doesn't mean all effort taken toward them is futile. Persistence and participation make all things possible.

We are reminded of an experiment in a gun factory in which the proposition was raised: Can a small cork start a large steel bar swinging? The cork, hanging by a silk thread, was swung gently against the suspended steel bar hanging from a thin chain. Nothing happened. But the cork was left to swing and in 10 minutes the bar was vibrating. By the end of a half hour, the steel bar was swinging like a pendulum.

Those who stay home from the polls can never start the vibration.

Jack Anderson and his co-authors write the syndicated column "Washington Merry-Go-Round."

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From: Thomas Modl, Editor,
America's Elections:
Opposing Viewpoints.
Greenhaven Press, 1988.

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Distinguishing Between Fact and Opinion

This activity is designed to help develop the critical thinking skill of distinguishing between fact and opinion. Consider the following statement as an example: "The television networks carry live coverage of the voting returns on election night." This is an easily verifiable statement. But consider this statement: "The networks' election night coverage trivializes the election process by treating the election as a sporting event." Contending that the networks trivialize the election process is the author's opinion. A critic of the media might agree, while a broadcaster probably would not.

In distinguishing between fact and opinion, it is important to recognize that not all statements of fact are true. They may appear to be true but some are based on inaccurate or false information. For this activity, however, we are concerned with understanding the difference between those statements which appear to be factual and those which appear to be based primarily on opinion.

The following statements are related to topics covered in this chapter. Consider each statement carefully. *Mark O for any statement you believe is an opinion or interpretation of facts. Mark F for any statement you believe is a fact. Mark U if you are uncertain.*

If you are doing this activity as a member of a class or group, compare your answers with those of other class or group members. Be able to defend your answers. You may discover that others will come to different conclusions than you. Listening to the reasons others present for their answers may give you valuable insights in distinguishing between fact and opinion.

O = opinion
F = fact
U = uncertain

1. The public's curiosity about who is winning is real and the news media should try to satisfy it.
2. Presidential primary voters get 90% of their election information from the news media.
3. Anything that keeps a politician humble and slightly unnerved is healthy for democracy.
4. Only 54 percent of eligible citizens voted in the 1980 elections.
5. Thousands of dollars are spent in efforts by talented people to compress complex issues into 30-second television spots.
6. Dwight D. Eisenhower's wartime affair with Kay Summersby Morgan did not become public knowledge until 30 years after the fact.
7. Privacy for candidates should stop where wealth and health begin.
8. Candidates now tailor their comments for the short sound-bites usable on the nightly news shows.
9. The Constitution does not require chastity of those who seek to be president.
10. The typical thirty-five-year-old American has been watching television for three decades.
11. As politically unsophisticated as voters are, they are extremely sophisticated as television viewers.
12. Thirty-second advertisements convey little useful or reliable information.
13. Many reporters allowed themselves to be gulled by the electronic facades of candidates.
14. About $350 million was spent on political television advertising during the 1986 elections.
15. There are more reporters from national publications covering the Iowa caucuses today than in 1976.

F. LESSON V - RESOURCES: TELEVISION

Introduction

Political Advertisements

Nominating Conventions

News Reports

News Analysis Programs

Televised Political Debates

"How to Watch A Debate"

Critical Thinking Activity:
Recognizing Deceptive Arguments

Objective #3: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand how to use the following resources which give voters information about candidates and issues by explaining how information is presented in each:

c. Television

Objective #5: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

analyze the objectivity of the information in each of the above resources by (b) recognizing deceptive arguments.

INTRODUCTION

Television has revolutionized the world of politics. Today a candidate in a national race can be in everyone's living room each evening. Speeches which were once heard only by groups of people in small towns are now heard across America.

While the news media has done a great deal to improve the awareness and knowledge of citizens, candidates have also learned to rely on the media to promote their messages. Television has become a major source of information about candidates and issues.

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS

Candidates and interest groups purchase commercial time on television to promote their candidacy or cause. Television ads are usually only 30 seconds or a minute. They are also very expensive, but can be worth the investment. Because the ads are so short, they generally try to focus on a single idea--a slogan, a position on a popular issue, an accomplishment, or a personal qualification of the candidate. Some ads take the form of dramatization. Others use music and imagery. Clips from speeches and audience response are popular in political advertisements.

Television ads are not very good sources of information for learning details about candidates or analyzing issues in any depth. They are good at promoting name familiarity.

Many of the same advertising techniques listed on page 176 are used in television advertising as well. Emotional appeals, scare tactics, endorsements by celebrities, and negative barbs at opponents can be found in television ads. It is important to listen carefully to what is being said and investigate more thoroughly the claims that are made.

NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

Today everyone in the nation can attend major political events, such as the Democratic and Republican national nominating conventions. These conventions can offer the viewer valuable information about the party platforms, the candidates offered by the party, potential candidates in the future, and party leadership at the national level.

The viewer is, again, cautioned to listen carefully and investigate the issues presented. Demonstrations and films shown at the conventions are often carefully planned to persuade the viewers at home to follow the party line! Speeches are organized so that the key speakers are shown at home in "prime time."

It is, indeed, exciting that today the citizens in our democracy can participate more than ever in the events which shape our nation. Information and analysis are the tools required to use this resource to its fullest.

NEWS REPORTS

Viewers can learn about events, candidates' races, and issues on the evening news. Local and national news programs follow the races closely. National networks even assign individual reporters to stay with the major candidates throughout the campaign.

News report programs also can influence the success of campaigns through predictions and reports on negative aspects of the candidates and/or their campaigns. Candidates recognize the important role of television news reports and try to get the attention of reporters to be included in news reports as often as possible. Unique locales, speeches on urban problems set in the poor areas of large cities, and other media events are often planned by candidates and their campaign managers to gain television news exposure. Also, since the format of television news is so rapid, candidates have learned to make short, "one-line," statements which will fit in a television headline.

Again, with viewer analysis, news reports can be a valuable source of information in making decisions in an election.

NEWS ANALYSIS PROGRAMS

Probably the most substantive source of information can be found on news analysis programs. Meet the Press, the McLaughlin Group, and Crossfire are a few of the programs which really analyze the news in depth.

Many of the programs strive to provide a balance of opinion--political parties, schools of thought (conservative, liberal)--and a variety of issues. Other programs tend to promote one side of an issue, with the other side being presented by other programs shown at other time slots.

Frequent viewers of news analysis programs learn to recognize the positions which are represented by the various debaters and enjoy the give and take which goes on in the process of debating the issues.

News analysis programs are an excellent source of information about candidates and issues.

TELEVISED POLITICAL DEBATES

Televised debates between the candidates also offer the voter a more spontaneous view of the candidates in a format where we can study their positions on many issues. Up until 1988, the League of Women Voters sponsored the Presidential debates. In a highly publicized move, however, the League withdrew its sponsorship, asserting that the candidates wanted too much control over the format of the debates.

It is true that often the debates are won or lost by factors beyond the words that are spoken. A tall candidate, a dark suit, eye contact with the camera, vocal techniques, charisma and a sense of humor can give the advantage to one candidate. For example, Ronald Reagan's height gave him an advantage over Jimmy Carter. Reagan also used humor to his advantage. John F. Kennedy appeared more relaxed before the camera and his charismatic manner overshadowed Richard Nixon's arguments on the issues.

It is important, again, to know what to look for in viewing a debate. The League of Women Voters has published an excellent brochure: How to Watch A Debate. Read the article and look for answers to the following questions as you read:

1. Which candidate, the incumbent or the challenger, usually wants more debates? Why?

2. Discuss reasons for some of the other details which have been negotiated prior to Presidential debates.

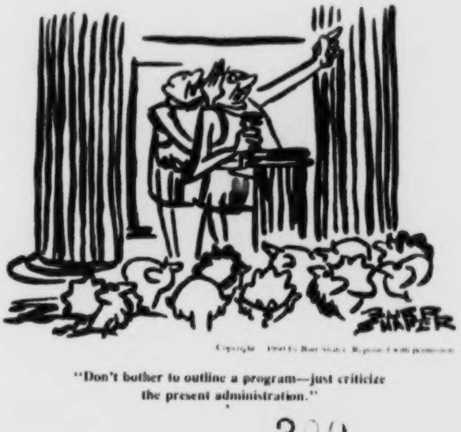
3. Which debate format do you think allows for the best airing of the issues in an election: "modified press conference" or "single moderator format?" State the reasons for your opinion.

4. Imagine you are in the audience and are allowed to ask a question of one of the candidates in a recent election. What question(s) would you ask?

5. Why do you think Jimmy Carter pulled out of the first 1980 debate when Independent candidate John Anderson was invited to participate?

6. If scholars agree that debates actually have little impact on the outcome of an election, why do we have debates? Do you think debates are an important part of the election year scenario? Why or why not?

7. If possible, watch a videotape of a political debate and then try the suggested activities on page 206. Use the "Rate the Debate" page (p. 205) to evaluate the debate.



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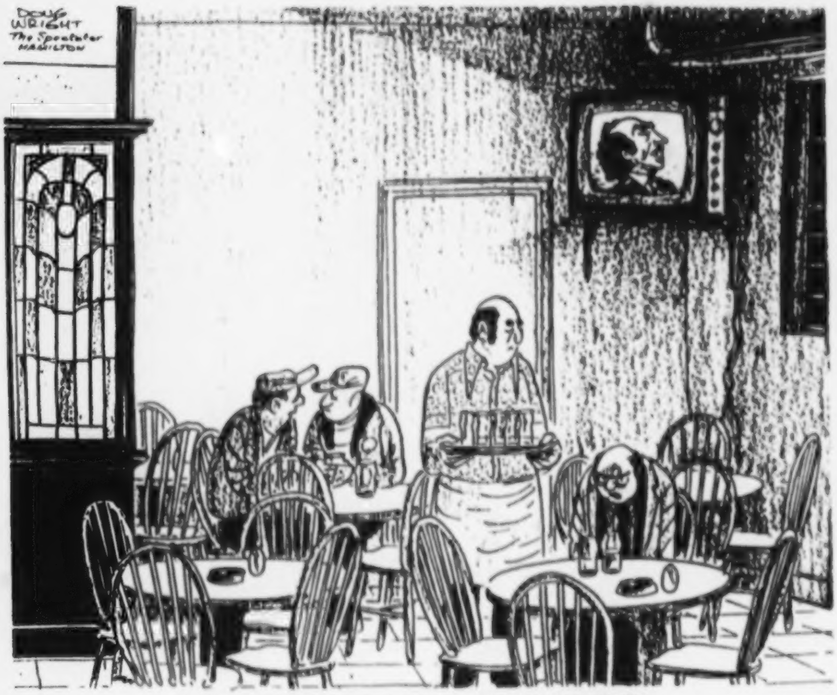
"Don't bother to outline a program—just criticize the present administration."

For an in-depth analysis of the relationship between the news media and the politicians, read:

Who's In Charge: How the Media Shape News and Politicians Win Votes,

by Philip M. Seib, Taylor Publishing Company, Dallas, Texas, 1987.



"Doesn't matter who you vote for . . . they're all so busy primping to go on TV they don't have time to run the country!"

How to Watch a Debate

To the Teacher and Students:

The purpose of this pamphlet is to help you learn how to watch political candidate debates. The "Rate the Debate" questions on page 3 can be used for class discussion and as guidelines as you watch a debate. The suggested activities on page 4 are provided for class assignments by the teacher. Teachers should consider using **How to Judge a Candidate** *also available from the League of Women Voters (see order information on back page) as an additional resource.*

In 1984, an estimated 85 million Americans watched the televised debates between presidential candidates Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale. Nine out of every ten American voters say they have watched a candidate debate some time in the past. These include debates among candidates for all levels of public office, from city council to the U.S. Senate to the presidency. No other political events — in fact, few other television programs — produce such large audiences. Why do people watch debates?

Clearly, there is a horse-race quality to a candidate debate; people want to know who will "win" when the stakes are so high and the political atmosphere so intense. But there is more. Before voters go to the polls, they want to know where candidates stand on the issues, what leadership qualities the candidates possess, how they react under pressure, even what they look like. Voters want to comparison shop and to see the candidates meet head-on and face-to-face.

Think of other ways we learn about candidates. The 60-second spot on TV is produced by a media advisor, the letter seeking contributions is written by a professional fundraiser, and news reports are filtered through the eyes of reporters. Compared to these, the candidate debate provides a direct opportunity to hear candidates speak for themselves, unrehearsed, without a prepared speech.

Still, viewers need to watch debates with a careful eye. Television can emphasize image over substance. Good debaters are not necessarily better leaders. This pamphlet provides background information and poses questions to help you as you watch candidate debates.

Candidate debates: A behind the scenes look

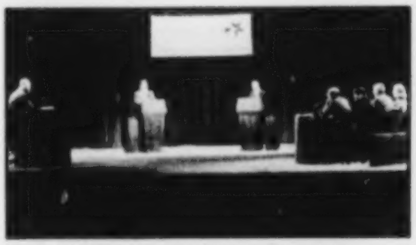
At first glance, the purpose of a debate seems obvious — to provide voters with the information they need to make an intelligent choice at the polls. Debates also help to get the public interested in an election and to educate voters about the issues.

But those directly involved in debates may have other goals. For candidates, it is to get elected. Candidates weigh every debate decision — whether to debate, what format is best, even what curtain colors and camera angles they want — with one question: "Will it help me win?" Television broadcasters who air the debate want to attract an audience with a lively show and a hot race. The debate that gets on the air is the result of delicate juggling of all these goals.

The juggling takes place in negotiating sessions between the debate sponsor, the candidates, and, in some cases, the broadcaster. Negotiations focus on such issues as the number, date, site and format for the debate. These negotiations often are long and difficult, and they may involve what seem to be small details. The negotiations for the presidential and vice-presidential debates in 1984, for example, went on for an intense three-week period before the debate schedule finally was set. Weeks later, conflicts arose over such issues as the color of the backdrop curtain and the placement of furniture on stage. Though minor, each dispute could have led one candidate or the other to back out of the debate at the last minute.

Format

The negotiations about format — the actual structure of the debate — are usually the most intense. A candidate debate can use any format that puts candidates face-to-face stating their views and responding to their opponents. Using this definition, what methods can you think of to structure debates?



Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale square off in the 1984 presidential debates.

Candidates tend to prefer safe formats that protect them from direct confrontation. The *"modified press conference,"* used in the 1984 Reagan-Mondale debates, is an example of this format in which a journalist poses a question, a candidate has several minutes to respond, the journalist poses a follow-up ques-

Three contenders for the Democratic nomination for president — Walter Mondale, Jesse Jackson, and Gary Hart — respond to questions posed by moderator Sander Vanocur in a 1984 presidential primary debate.

tion, and the same candidate responds. The next candidate goes through the same questioning process and then each has a chance to rebut, or refute, the opponent. This format guarantees each candidate equal time and takes advantage of the knowledge of a number of journalists. However, it provides little opportunity to challenge a candidate who is dodging a question and often allows the press to set the agenda for the debate; sometimes issues of most concern to the public and to the candidates are missed in the process.

Contrast the above format with the much less structured *"single moderator format"* used in the 1984 Democratic primary debates. A single moderator posed questions to the candidates and was free to follow up immediately if a candidate ducked the question or responded with an answer that was too general. Candidates were given time to ask questions of each other. This format usually results in a much livelier interaction between candidates and tends to highlight differences in the candidates' stands on the issues. However, it requires a skilled, well-informed moderator who is able to make sure all candidates get equal opportunity to present their views.

In some debates, audience questions are used, either live or prescreened. Formal opening and/or closing statements by the candidates often are included. Sometimes, several formats are combined in one debate. As you watch debates, consider the strengths and weaknesses of the format, and keep in mind that the format selected probably reflects a compromise reached by the candidates, the debate sponsor and possibly the broadcaster.

Candidate participation

As you watch a debate, note who is and who is not included. Are minor party and/or independent candidates involved? Deciding whom to include in a debate is not always easy or obvious for debate sponsors. Some debate sponsors choose to include only major candidates in order to use the brief time available to give voters an opportunity to compare candidates with a realistic chance of winning. Other sponsors prefer to open the platform to all legally qualified candidates, providing voters with an opportunity to hear all candidates' points of view. Which position do you think is most informative to voters?

Either way poses potential problems. In 1980, for example, the League of Women Voters Education Fund announced it would include in its presidential debates all candidates receiving more than 15 percent support in national nonpartisan public opinion polls. Independent candidate John Anderson met that criterion, and the League invited him to participate in the first presidential debate. The Democratic contender, President Jimmy Carter, promptly pulled out. Later, when Anderson's support dipped below the League-established 15 percent criterion, he was not invited for the second debate. Carter then agreed to take the stage opposite Republican candidate Ronald Reagan.

Impact of debates

Most scholars agree that debates rarely cause a dramatic change in the course of an election. They seldom make a winner out of a long-shot nor can they destroy a candidate who is far ahead in the polls. In fact, studies of the impact of presidential debates show that debates tend to confirm the choices people have already made. According to these studies, even if a candidate makes a major mistake or says something supporters do not like during a debate, most supporters adjust their views in order to remain loyal to the original candidate.

This is not to say that debates do not shape voters' opinions. In fact, they have the greatest impact on undecided voters. Watching a debate helps an uncommitted voter decide how to cast a ballot on election day.

In addition, studies show that debates influence voters in other important ways. Debates stimulate interest in the election and inform the public about the issues involved in the campaign as well as the candidates' positions on those issues. They put candidates on the record, so they can be held accountable once in office. They help rally a candidate's supporters to get involved in the campaign and to vote. And finally, they provide a great deal of information about the personalities of the candidates.

In sum, candidate debates can play a vital role in our democracy. In a country in which only about half of all eligible voters cast their ballots in the 1984 presidential elections, the role that televised debates play in stimulating and educating voters is especially important.

Debates, though, will remain only as good as the public wants them to be. Because many candidates want safe debates — or all too often, no debates at all — it is up to the public to persuade candidates to debate and to accept better, more challenging formats. And then, it is up to the debate audience to evaluate the candidates — to differentiate between style and substance — and to make informed choices at the polls.

Rate the debate

You will get more out of watching a debate if you are well prepared. Get ready by following press reports on the candidates. Knowing their campaign positions ahead of time and knowing something about the issues that are likely to come up in the debate will help you to understand the questions and answers and to evaluate the candidates' performance. It also is helpful to get some background on the debate sponsor and follow any campaign conflicts over the debate itself.

Rate the debate format

A good format should be interesting and fair, should provide information about the candidates' views on the issues and should help you judge the candidates' leadership qualities. In evaluating the debate format, consider:

1. Does it give all candidates equal opportunity to speak and to respond to opponents?

2. Does it hold your interest? Does it allow the differences between the candidates to surface?

3. Does it make it easy for the candidates to talk about the issues? Does it allow the candidates to state their views clearly? Does it allow the candidates to be pinned down?

4. Does it give you insight into the candidates' personalities and leadership qualities?

Rate the moderator/panelists

1. Is the moderator in control of the debate?

2. Are the questions fair? Are they equally tough on all candidates?

3. Are the questions clear? Is there enough information so that viewers understand the meaning of the answers? Are follow-up questions used to help pin down the candidates?

4. Do the questions cover the important issues? Are there any major issues that are not mentioned?

5. Does the moderator or do any of the panelists talk too much?

6. Does the moderator allow each candidate the same amount of time to talk?

Rate the candidates

Most of your attention during a debate centers on the candidates' performance, and rightly so. But as you watch, be aware of your reactions both to the substance of the candidates' remarks and to the visual images they convey. Those images can be powerful. For example, two revealing polls were taken after the 1960 debates between John Kennedy, who came across as youthful and energetic, and Richard Nixon, who looked tired and older. A majority of television viewers judged Kennedy the debate winner, but a poll of radio listeners gave the victory to Nixon. Clearly, the power of image can cause voters to overlook the substance of a debate. Therefore, as you evaluate candidates, consider:

Image

1. Are you influenced by the age, sex, clothes, posture or other physical characteristics of the candidates? How?

2. What impressions do the candidates convey as the debate progresses? Who appears more relaxed? more sincere? more confident?

3. Who knows how to use television better? Do the candidates look directly at you (into the camera) or elsewhere (at the panelists, live audience, etc.)? Does this affect your overall impression of the candidates?

Substance

1. Do the candidates answer or evade the questions?

2. Do the candidates tell you their stands on issues or do they respond with emotional appeals and campaign slogans?

3. Do the candidates give their own views, or do they mostly attack the opponent? Are the attacks personal or directed at the opponent's policies?

4. Are the answers consistent with the candidates' previous positions?

5. Is the candidate well informed? Do the candidates use facts and figures to help you understand or to confuse you?

6. Are the answers realistic or are they just campaign promises?

You may want to read a transcript or view a videotape of the debate to help answer these questions.

Rate the impact of the debate

Political debates are but one event in a long campaign season. How has the debate influenced the campaign? In evaluating the impact of a debate, consider the following:

1. At what stage in the campaign is the debate taking place?

2. What press coverage, if any, is there of the debate? Does it cover important issues or focus on attention-getting details (mistakes, slogans, etc.)?

3. Did the debate change press coverage of the campaign? Are different issues emphasized?

4. Did the candidates' ratings in the polls change after the debate?

5. Has interest in the campaign changed? How?

6. Have the behavior, policy positions or campaign strategy of either candidate changed? How?

Suggested activities

1. The candidates and the issues

Before the debate: On a piece of paper, along the left margin, write down the issues about which you care most. Make a column next to each issue for each candidate. Then, make a column for your own position on each issue listed. If you do not know or you want to hear the various views before forming an opinion, leave it blank.

During the debate: As candidates talk about the issues you have listed, fill in their positions in the appropriate column. If you do not understand the candidate's answer, write "don't understand." If the candidate avoids the question, write "avoids question". If the issue is not discussed, leave it blank.

After the debate: Make a final column listing your positions on the issues after watching the debate. Evaluate what you learned about the issues from the debate. Have you changed any opinions or made up your mind on any issues? Circle the candidate's positions that are the closest to yours. How helpful was the debate in helping you learn the candidates' stands on the issues?

2. The candidates and their leadership qualities

Before the debate: On a piece of paper, along the left margin, list the qualities of a good leader. (Examples: strong, good communicator, good listener, honest, smart, etc.). Next, for each quality, make a column with the name of each candidate in the debate.

During the debate: As you watch the debate, note ways in which each candidate does or does not show the leadership qualities you have listed. Your examples should come both from the candidates' statements and from the images they convey.

After the debate: Evaluate your list. What impressed you the most: content or image? How was the debate helpful in teaching you about the candidates' leadership qualities? How might it be deceptive? How do your impressions compare with those of others — classmates, parents, media commentators?

3. Impact of debates — take your own poll

Before the debate: Design a poll to determine your classmates' views (or, as a class project, a sampling of your neighbors' and relatives' views) of the candidates. Include questions about the leadership qualities of the candidates, the candidates' stands on key issues and whom they would vote for if the election were held that day.

After the debate: Go back to the same group of people and ask the same questions. How did their answers change, if at all? What impact did the debate have on your sample?

4. Impact of debates — interviews

Before the debate: Design a set of interview questions to solicit various views of the candidates (their leadership qualities, their stands on issues, whom they would vote for, and so on). Select different kinds of people to interview.

After the debate: Interview the same people. Ask who they thought "won" the debate and why. Also ask if they changed their opinion as a result of the debate and what they learned from the debate. Evaluate the responses. What impact did the debate have?

5. Participate in a debate

Attend a debate: Find out if there will be a live audience at a candidate debate. If so, ask if you can attend. If there will be audience questions, prepare the questions you would like the candidates to address.

Stage your own mock debate: Assign all roles to various classmates, including candidates, moderator, etc. You may even want to stage mock negotiating sessions over debate details (format, etc.). Afterwards, be sure to evaluate how your debate went and discuss the different viewpoints of all participants.

Credits:

This pamphlet is part of the League of Women Voters Education Fund project "Agenda for Security: Election '86." Funding for the project is provided by the W. Alton Jones Foundation, Inc. of Charlottesville, Virginia and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Researched and written by Deborah Goldman, Project Manager, LWVEF.

Order from:

League of Women Voters of the United States, 1730 M Street, NW, Washington DC 20036. (202) 429-1965. Pub. #819, 75¢ (50¢ for members). Quantity discounts available.

The LWVEF companion pamphlet **How to Judge a Candidate** *(Pub. #818, 75¢/50¢ for members; quantity discounts available) also is available from the League of Women Voters at the above address.*

a critical thinking activity

From: Thomas Modl, Editor,
America's Elections:
Opposing Viewpoints.
Greenhaven Press, 1988.

Recognizing Deceptive Arguments

People who feel strongly about an issue use many techniques to persuade others to agree with them. Some of these techniques appeal to the intellect, some to the emotions. Many of them distract the reader or listener from the real issues.

Below are listed a few common examples of argumentation tactics. Most of them can be used either to advance an argument in an honest, reasonable way or to deceive or distract from the real issues. It is important for a critical reader to recognize these tactics in order to rationally evaluate an author's ideas.

a. *scare tactics*—the threat that if you don't do or don't believe this, something terrible will happen
b. *strawperson*—distorting or exaggerating an opponent's ideas to make one's own seem stronger
c. *personal attack*—criticizing an opponent *personally* instead of rationally debating his or her ideas
d. *slanters*—to persuade through inflammatory and exaggerated language instead of reason
e. *generalizations*—using statistics or facts to generalize about a population, place, or thing
f. *categorical statements*—stating something in a way implying that there can be no argument
g. *deductive reasoning*—claiming that since a and b are true, c is also true, although there may not be a connection between a and c

The following activity will allow you to sharpen your skills in recognizing deceptive reasoning. Some of the statements below are taken from the viewpoints in this chapter. *Beside each one, mark the letter of the type of deceptive appeal being used. More than one type of tactic may be applicable. If you believe the statement is not any of the listed appeals, write N.*

1. If we do not change the way campaigns are financed, our system of government will cease to be democratic.
2. Senators supporting public financing of campaigns merely want taxpayers to pay for their reelection.
3. The misguided attempts to change campaign financing are the work of the busybodies at Common Cause.
4. All elected officials ever think about is raising money.
5. Only the wealthy and the corporations benefit from the influence of PACs.
6. Watergate revealed that our government is for sale to the biggest contributor.
7. There is no good reason for restricting the amount of funds parties can give their their candidates.
8. Campaign finance "reform" is a respectable sounding idea that's really a fraud.
9. If we allow tax money to be used to finance election campaigns, we will be turning Congress into an entrenched aristocracy, a new House of Lords.
10. If PACs were promoting pornography instead of political views, liberals would be supporting PACs.
11. Campaign contributions are just modern, cleaned-up versions of the old-fashioned, under-the-table bribe.
12. The fact is that money is everything these days.
13. A candidate's ability to raise funds is a clear indication of his appeal to the voters.
14. When the majority of PAC money came from unions, we didn't hear any propaganda from the self-righteous liberal lobbies about how terrible PACs are.

G. LESSON VI - RESOURCES: POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES (PACs)

Introduction

Political Information Comparison Activity

PACs: Contributions and Expenditures
Tables

"How to Judge A Candidate"

Objective #3: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand how to use the following resources which give voters information about candidates and issues by explaining how information is presented in each:

d. Political Parties and Political Action Committees (PACs)

INTRODUCTION

Political parties and interest groups or PACs provide information about candidates and issues. Citizens can contact party headquarters for summaries about the views of candidates and statements about the parties' positions on the major issues. Candidate brochures and issue statements are often mailed or delivered to households by political party and PAC volunteers.

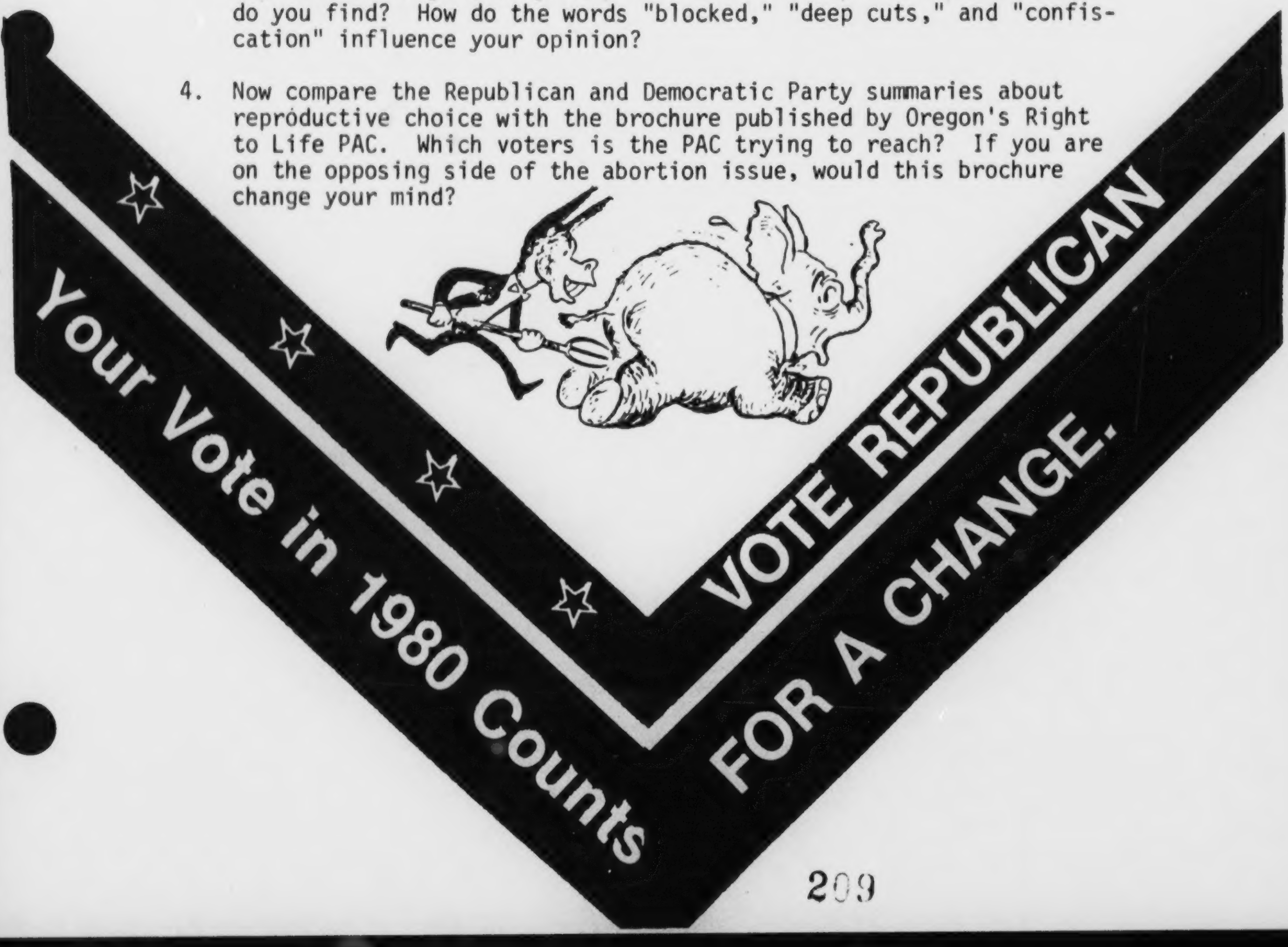
POLITICAL INFORMATION COMPARISON SUMMARY

1. Look at the comparison of candidate positions on issues on page 212. This paper was published by the Republican Party. Which statements would you characterize as "objective?" What words are used to persuade the voters positively or negatively about the candidates?

2. Now look at page 213. This is the Democratic Party's summary of the positions of their candidate. Find several issues on page 212 and compare them with the statements on page 213. What similarities do you find? Do you also find contradictions? Where?

3. The next political party information paper is about gun control on p. 214. This paper was also published by the Democratic Party. Compare this statement with the statement below, taken from the Republican Party summary on p. 212. What examples of persuasion do you find? How do the words "blocked," "deep cuts," and "confiscation" influence your opinion?

4. Now compare the Republican and Democratic Party summaries about reproductive choice with the brochure published by Oregon's Right to Life PAC. Which voters is the PAC trying to reach? If you are on the opposing side of the abortion issue, would this brochure change your mind?



Bush/Quayle Position	Dukakis/Benston Position
ECONOMICS	
• No new taxes — *period.*	• Won't rule out a tax increase.
• Supports a Constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget.	• "Balanced budget amendments are not worth the paper they're printed on".
• Supports a cut in the capital gains tax rate to 15 percent to spur investment.	• "I can't imagine anything worse".
FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE	
• Supports aid to Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua and Angola.	• Opposes aid to the Freedom Fighters in Nicaragua and Angola.
• Actively supported the liberation of Grenada.	• Refused to support the Grenada rescue mission.
• Supported the military action against Libya as an appropriate response to state-sponsored terrorism.	• Opposed president Reagan's military action against Libyan terrorism on the grounds that it may have been "illegal".
• Favors the following conventional weapons system: new nuclear aircraft carriers to replace World War II era carriers and anti-satellite weapons.	• Opposes the following conventional weapons systems: new nuclear aircraft carriers to replace World War II era carriers and anti-satellite weapons.
• Opposes a unilateral nuclear freeze.	• Supported a nuclear freeze which would have prevented the 1982 deployment of the Pershing II missiles that made the INF Treaty possible.
• Supports the following strategic weapons systems: MX missile, B-1, and Stealth bombers.	• Opposes development and construction of MX missile, B-1, and Stealth bombers.
• Supports research, development, and deployment of SDI.	• Calls SDI a "fantasy" and opposes any deployment.
• Favors keeping U.S. troops in South Korea.	• Threatened to withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea.
• Supports the right of the President to mobilize the National Guard.	• Filed a lawsuit to prevent any President from being able to use National Guard units.
DOMESTIC	
• Proposes a new child care initiative including: creation of a Children's Tax Credit, making the Dependent Care Tax Credit refundable, and encouraging employer-sponsored day care.	• Has no plan of his own, but endorses "in concept" regulatory licensing provisions of Dodd-Kildee bill which discriminate against families, churches, synagogues, and private sector institutions.
• Supports mandatory sentencing.	• Opposes mandatory sentencing.
• Opposes furloughs for convicted 1st. degree murderers.	• Gives furloughs to murderers, rapists, and drug kingpins.
• Supports a federal death penalty for drug kingpins.	• Opposes the death penalty in *all* cases; pardoned over 500 criminals, and commuted the sentences of over 50 murderers.
• Favors a constitutional amendment to allow voluntary prayer in schools.	• Opposes a constitutional amendment to allow prayer in schools.
• Opposes federal gun registraion and a federal waiting period.	• Supports federal gun registration and supported confiscation of handguns in Massachusetts.
• Opposes homosexuals as foster parents.	• Supports the right of homosexuals to be foster parents, and vetoed a bill that would have banned it.
• Opposes abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or the life of the mother.	• Favors abortion and favors government-funded abortions.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY 1988

Position Summaries

(this page)

WORDS TO LIVE BY ON THE MAJOR ISSUES

CHILD CARE

Mike Dukakis believes that the promise of America begins with our children. High quality, affordable day care will give our future the Head Start it needs and provide the opportunity for working parents across the country to spend the day at work knowing that their children are in sure hands.

CRIME

Mike Dukakis is a true champion in the battle against crime. He has cut the crime rate by 13% in his state in the past 5 years and is committed to restoring the resources which the Republicans have taken out of the hands of the law enforcers in this country. Mike Dukakis is endorsed for President by the International Union of Police Associations.

DEATHPENALTY

The call for the death penalty is a smokescreen for the Republican failure in the fight against crime and drugs. It sounds tough, but the real question is who in this election will fight crime with action. Mike Dukakis opposes the death penalty on moral grounds, and he also opposes the United States government doing business with known international drug runners while cutting Coast Guard and police funding.

DEFENSE

Mike Dukakis will make America truly strong by building a solid military force second to none. As commander-in-chief, he will build weapons that work, pay our servicemen and women the good wages they deserve, and cut out the greed and graft in the Pentagon.

THE DEFICITS

Mike Dukakis is an experienced budget balancer. When he took office as governor, he inherited a $500 million deficit from a Republican administration. Today Massachusetts has a $67 million surplus. The $2.3 trillion budget deficit and $160 billion trade deficit are time bombs in the American economy. Since the Republicans took over and started mortgaging America's future, this country has gone from being the world's largest creditor to being the world's largest debtor nation. These deficits keep interest rates unnaturally and dangerously high, rob valuable savings funds, and cripple American competitiveness abroad.

DRUGS

The Republicans, with George Bush heading their drug task force, have seen drug import and use skyrocket in the past 8 years. Mike Dukakis will do more than talk tough, he will cut foreign aid to countries which refuse to cooperate in the war against drugs, he will commit this country to a serious drug education, treatment, and rehabilitation program, and he will never do business with known international drug kingpins like Noriega. George Bush says that, if elected, he will appoint his vice-president to head the war on drugs. Ronald Reagan tried that, and it didn't work.

EDUCATION

Mike Dukakis has been both a student and a teacher. He understands that education is invaluable to the life of the individual and to the society as a whole. During the first week in September, Mike Dukakis was endorsed for president in a vote by the board of the National Education Association and won by the largest margin in the history of the group. Mike Dukakis will provide every student qualified to attend college the opportunity to do so by guaranteeing their student loans, and he will make teaching a valued and honored profession once again.

ENVIRONMENT

The Environmental Protection Agency under Mike Dukakis will be re-committed to protecting the environment instead of the polluters. Massachusetts was the first state to sponsor the clean-up of hazardous wastes sites, and Mike Dukakis will bring that same sense of responsibility with him to Washington. He will protect our air, land, and water, attack acid rain, and crack down on polluters.

FOREIGN POLICY

Mike Dukakis will do whatever is necessary to protect American lives and US national interests. He will restore the respect for US foreign policy by working with international organizations, by respecting the concerns and ideas of countries in crisis areas, and by committing US foreign policy to the rule of law. Mike Dukakis will work hard with the Soviet Union to reduce the nuclear threat, he will support the real freedom fighters like those struggling to be free in South Africa, and he will never trade arms for hostages.

FURLOUGHS

Nearly every state in the country, as well as the federal government, has an inmate furlough program to allow inmates to re-adjust gradually to life on the outside. The furlough program is a proven complement to rehabilitation which cuts down on multiple offenders. Under Ronald Reagan's administration as governor of California, two murders were committed by prisoners on furloughs. Reagan's reaction? "Obviously you can't be perfect." Mike Dukakis restricted the Massachusetts furlough program in his current term to make first-degree murderers ineligible.

GUN CONTROL

Mike Dukakis supports a citizen's constitutional right to keep and bear arms. His position on gun control is consistent with Oregon state law. He supports a waiting period on the sale of handguns to allow for a police check on criminal and mental history, he supports a ban on the sale of plastic handguns used to avoid detection systems, and he supports a ban on armor-piercing or "cop killer" bullets. Mike Dukakis is endorsed for President by the International Union of Police Associations.

HEALTH CARE

The US is the only major industrialized country which does not guarantee its citizens even the barest minimum of health care. This is intolerable. Only Massachusetts can boast of a universal health care system in which health coverage, through a public-private partnership, is guaranteed for everyone. Mike Dukakis is committed to bringing this outstanding innovation to the national level.

LABOR

Mike Dukakis is an old and faithful friend of working men and women. He supported and acted on plant closing notification years before it was made federal law over the objections of Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Dan Quayle. He supports legislation to improve workers' safety and to guarantee their right to know if they are working with hazardous materials. And unlike Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and Dan Quayle, Mike Dukakis has called for many years for a significant rise in the minimum wage.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE VETO

In 1977, Governor Dukakis vetoed a bill which would have imposed criminal penalties on teachers who failed to lead their classes in the Pledge. He did so upon receiving an advisory opinion from the state's highest court that the law was unconstitutional, and upon consideration of the 1943 Supreme Court decision which said students may not be forced to recite the Pledge. Mike Dukakis pledges allegiance to the most fundamental American values: respect for individual beliefs, respect for freedom of speech, and respect for the rule of law.

REPRODUCTIVE CHOICE

Mike Dukakis's view on reproductive choice is consistent with the law of the land. He believes that the fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay. We must remember that an America without legal abortions would not be an abortion-free America, but an America in which women would again be forced into dangerous back-alley abortions.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Mike Dukakis will insist on a Social Security system which keeps its promises and keeps pace with a changing economy. He will restore Cost of Living Adjustments to Social Security payments, which were eliminated by George Bush in 1985 with his tie-breaking vote on the floor of the Senate.

TAXES AND SPENDING

Mike Dukakis has balanced 10 budgets in a row in his 10 years as governor, and has done so while cutting taxes 5 times. Personal income in the state has grown by nearly 50% in the last 5 years. Mike Dukakis has never said that he will raise taxes as President. The Republicans have already shown us 8 years of fiscal irresponsibility, and it is time to get on course to a solid, strong economy with a real leader at the helm.

VICE-PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE SENATOR LLOYD BENTSEN

Senator Lloyd Bentsen is an experienced and knowledgeable statesman. He is a respected leader in the Senate who has won fights for plant closing notification, catastrophic health insurance, and welfare reform. No one has ever questioned his qualifications to be President of the United States.

REPUBLICAN PARTY 1988

Position Summaries and Comparison to Democratic Positions

(opposite page, left)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Democratic Party 1988 - Position Paper on Gun Control

He wants to disarm the people in his state except for the military and the police."

-George Bush

That statement is a lie.

It's the latest in the series of Bush lies. Mike Dukakis believes you deserve the facts.

Mike Dukakis supports every citizen's Constitutional right to keep and bear arms. He believes law abiding Americans should be able to use firearms for protecting their homes and businesses, for hunting and target shooting, and for collecting. The government must respect these rights at all times.

Governor Dukakis has always supported laws that help law enforcement officials fight crime. He wants to keep guns out of the hands of criminals, but he will never interfere with the private ownership of weapons.

Consider the facts.

- Gun ownership has more than doubled in Massachusetts since Mike Dukakis took office.
- Crime in the state has dropped by 13% in the last 5 years.
- Mike Dukakis cracks down on criminals — not law-abiding citizens.

Look at the records.

Mike Dukakis:	George Bush:
Supports our Constitutional right to keep and bear arms.	Supports our Constitutional right to keep and bear arms.
Wants to help police keep guns out of the hands of criminals by requiring a 7-day waiting period for purchasers.	Opposes the effort to help police keep guns out of the hands of criminals with a 7-day waiting period.
Supports law to keep plastic guns out of the hands of terrorists, drug dealers, and prison inmates.	Personally blocked a bill that would have outlawed detection-evading plastic guns.
Supports full funding of local law enforcement assistance, and additional federal prosecutors to fight crime.	Supported deep cuts in aid to state and local police, juvenile justice, Drug-Free Schools, and the Victim Assistance Program.
Does not support more federal gun control laws beyond the 7-day waiting period.	Voted for federal gun control as a member of Congress and said "much more" needed to be done.
Supports policies consistent with Oregon State Law.	Supports policies which are illegal in the State of Oregon.

Mike Dukakis supports the right to own guns.
And he's tough on crime.
George Bush has to lie to win this election.
Mike Dukakis wants you to know the truth.

Compare with Republican Party 1988 position statements on gun control.

BUSH/QUAYLE	DUKAKIS/BENTSEN
• Opposes federal gun registraion and a federal waiting period.	• Supports federal gun registration and supported confiscation of handguns in Massachusetts.

OREGON RIGHT TO LIFE PAC BROCHURE

GEORGE BUSH

"I believe that abortion is wrong . . . Federal funds should not be used to finance abortion . . . I believe we need a Human Life Amendment. Our Constitution is and should be designed to protect human life."

George Bush

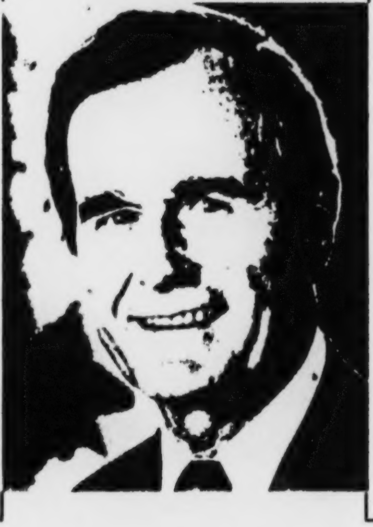
- Opposes the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision which legalized abortion throughout the nine months of pregnancy.
- Opposes the funding of abortion with taxpayer dollars.
- Favors a Human Life Amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decision.

☑ The direction of the Supreme Court is at stake. Vote Bush for President!

Where do the candidates stand?

George Bush

OUR PRO-LIFE FRIEND!



MICHAEL DUKAKIS

"I support the Supreme Court decision on abortion. I believe that abortion is a personal decision which can only be made by the individual woman . . . I do support federal funding of abortion services . . ."

Michael Dukakis

As a Massachusetts state legislator:

- Introduced a bill to legalize abortion in Massachusetts in 1970, three years prior to the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision which legalized abortion nationwide.

As Governor of Massachusetts:

- On four occasions, vetoed legislation or a state budget because it contained restrictions on government funding of abortions.
- The National Right to Life Committee (NRLC) says: "This is the most pro-abortion presidential ticket in history."

You have a right to know where the candidates stand on this vital issue!

Oregon Right to Life PAC
11220 S.E. Stark St.
Portland, Oregon 97216

Non-Profit Organization
U.S. Postage Paid
Permit No. 309
Salem, Oregon

REPUBLICAN PARTY 1988 POSITION SUMMARIES:

Bush/Quayle	Dukakis/Bentsen
• Opposes abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or the life of the mother.	• Favors abortion and favors government-funded abortions.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY 1988 POSITION STATEMENT: Mike Dukakis' view on reproductive choice is consistent with the law of the land. He believes that the fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability

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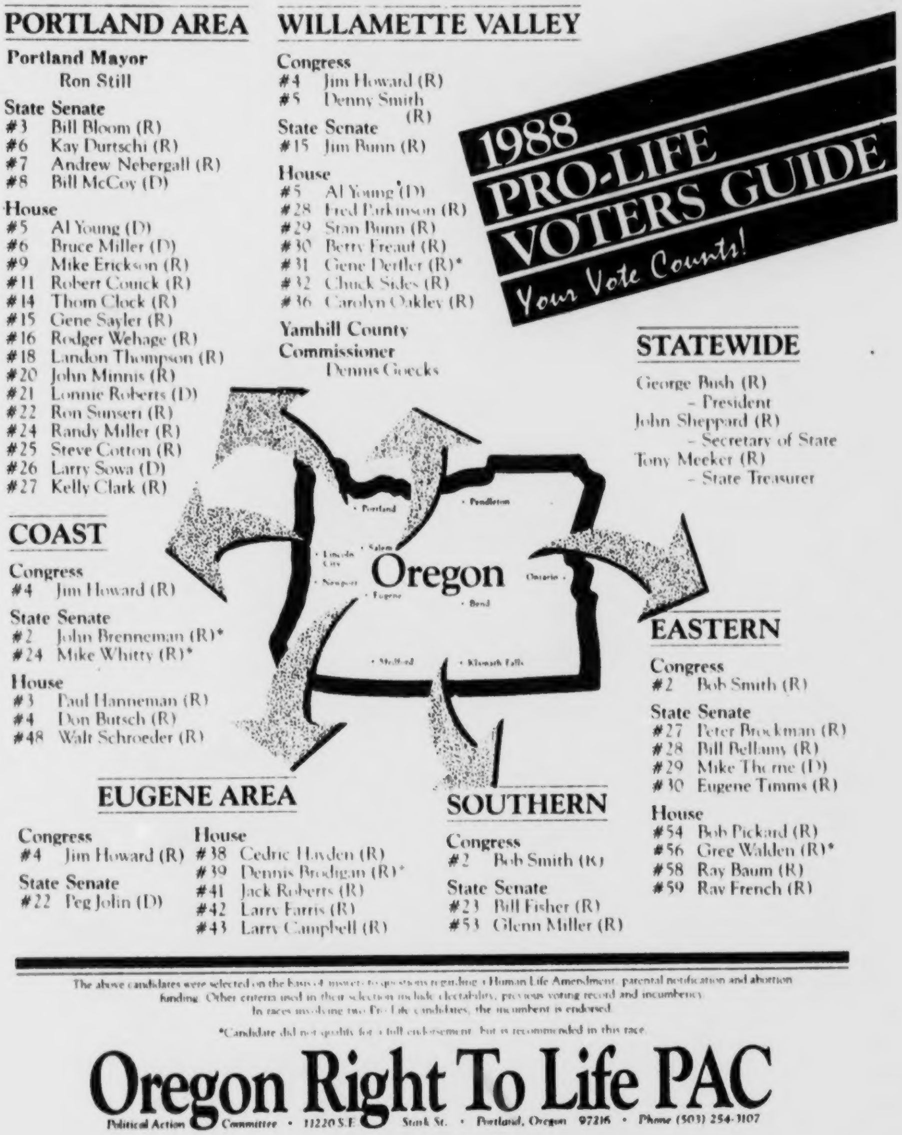
to pay. We must remember that an American without legal abortions would not be an abortion-free America, but an America in which women would again be forced into dangerous back-alley abortions.


Portland
Pendleton
Salem
Lincoln City
Newport
Oregon
Ontario
Eugene
Bend
Medford
Klamath Falls

1988 PRO-LIFE VOTERS GUIDE

Your Vote Counts!

PORTLAND AREA

Portland Mayor
Ron Still

State Senate
#3 Bill Bloom (R)
#6 Kay Durtschi (R)
#7 Andrew Nebergall (R)
#8 Bill McCoy (D)

House
#5 Al Young (D)
#6 Bruce Miller (D)
#9 Mike Erickson (R)
#11 Robert Conick (R)
#14 Thom Clock (R)
#15 Gene Sayler (R)
#16 Rodger Wehage (R)
#18 Landon Thompson (R)
#20 John Minnis (R)
#21 Lonnie Roberts (D)
#22 Ron Sunseri (R)
#24 Randy Miller (R)
#25 Steve Cotton (R)
#26 Larry Sowa (D)
#27 Kelly Clark (R)

WILLAMETTE VALLEY

Congress
#4 Jim Howard (R)
#5 Denny Smith (R)

State Senate
#15 Jim Bunn (R)

House
#5 Al Young (D)
#28 Fred Parkinson (R)
#29 Stan Bunn (R)
#30 Betty Freauf (R)
#31 Gene Derfler (R)*
#32 Chuck Sides (R)
#36 Carolyn Oakley (R)

Yamhill County Commissioner
Dennis Goecks

STATEWIDE

George Bush (R)
– President
John Sheppard (R)
– Secretary of State
Tony Meeker (R)
– State Treasurer

COAST

Congress
#4 Jim Howard (R)

State Senate
#2 John Brenneman (R)*
#24 Mike Whitty (R)*

House
#3 Paul Hanneman (R)
#4 Don Butsch (R)
#48 Walt Schroeder (R)

EASTERN

Congress
#2 Bob Smith (R)

State Senate
#27 Peter Brockman (R)
#28 Bill Bellamy (R)
#29 Mike Thorne (D)
#30 Eugene Timms (R)

House
#54 Bob Pickard (R)
#56 Greg Walden (R)*
#58 Ray Baum (R)
#59 Ray French (R)

EUGENE AREA

Congress
#4 Jim Howard (R)

State Senate
#22 Peg Jolin (D)

House
#38 Cedric Hayden (R)
#39 Dennis Brodigan (R)*
#41 Jack Roberts (R)
#42 Larry Farris (R)
#43 Larry Campbell (R)

SOUTHERN

Congress
#2 Bob Smith (R)

State Senate
#23 Bill Fisher (R)
#53 Glenn Miller (R)

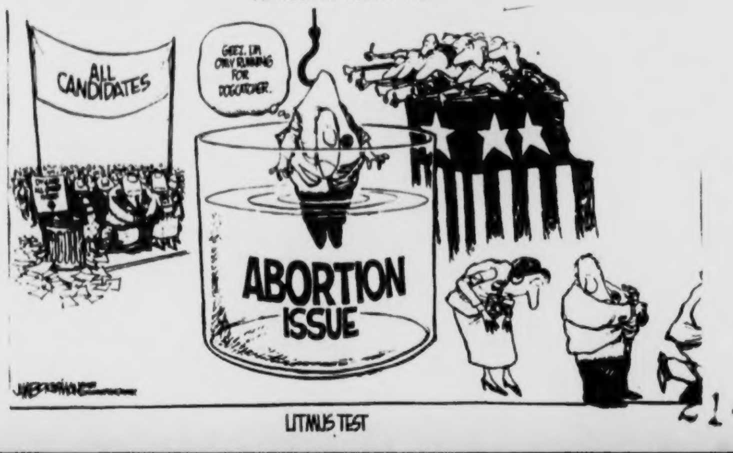
The above candidates were selected on the basis of answers to questions regarding a Human Life Amendment, parental notification and abortion funding. Other criteria used in their selection include electability, previous voting record and incumbency.
In races involving two Pro-Life candidates, the incumbent is endorsed.

*Candidate did not qualify for a full endorsement, but is recommended in this race.

Oregon Right To Life PAC

Political Action Committee • 11220 S.E. Stark St. • Portland, Oregon 97216 • Phone (503) 254-3107

PAID FOR BY OREGON RIGHT TO LIFE PAC


ALL CANDIDATES
GEEZ, I'M ONLY RUNNING FOR DOGCATCHER.
ABORTION ISSUE

LITMUS TEST

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES

Contributions and Expenditures Tables

In 1971, Congress passed the Federal Election Campaign Act which placed limits on contributions, spending limits, and disclosure requirements. This act, and its amendments in 1974, 1976, and 1979, increased the importance of political action committees or PACs. PACs play a major role in soliciting contributions from individuals and disbursing the money to candidates. Some PACs are affiliated with corporations, unions and other organizations. Other PACs are independent. The latter are allowed to spend unlimited dollars to support or oppose federal candidates.

The following tables are from PAC Power by Larry J. Sabato (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984). They list some of the more powerful PACs and their spending habits. PACs have truly become a major political force in modern political campaign life.

Table 1-4.
"Top Ten" PAC Fundraisers and Contributors

TOP FUNDRAISERS	PAC CATEGORY	TOTAL MONEY RAISED[a]
1. National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC)	Nonconnected	$10.0
2. National Congressional Club	Nonconnected	9.7
3. Realtors Political Action Committee (R-PAC)	Trade	3.0
4. Fund for a Conservative Majority	Nonconnected	2.9
5. American Medical Association Political Action Committee (AMPAC)	Trade	2.5
6. National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC)	Nonconnected	2.4
7. Citizens for the Republic (CFTR)	Nonconnected	2.4
8. Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC)	Nonconnected	2.4
9. Fund for a Democratic Majority	Nonconnected	2.3
10. Committee for the Future of America, Inc.	Nonconnected	2.2

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO FEDERAL CANDIDATES	PAC CATEGORY	TOTAL MONEY CONTRIBUTED[a]
1. Realtors Political Action Committee (R-PAC)	Trade	$ 2.1
2. American Medical Association Political Action Committee (AMPAC)	Trade	1.7
3. UAW-V-CAP (United Auto Workers)	Labor	1.6
4. Machinists Non-Partisan Political League (MNPL)	Labor	1.4
5. National Education Association PAC (NEA-PAC)	Labor	1.2
6. Build Political Action Committee of the National Association of Home Builders (Build PAC)	Trade	1.0
7. Committee for Thorough Agricultural Political Education of the Associated Milk Producers (C-TAPE)	Cooperative	1.0
8. American Bankers Association BANKPAC	Trade	0.9
9. Automobile and Truck Dealers Election Action Committee	Trade	0.9
10. AFL-CIO COPE Political Contributions Committee	Labor	0.9

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission
[a]Figures for 1981-1982, in millions of dollars

POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES:

Tables of Contributions and Expenditures

(continued)

Table 3-4.
Independent Expenditures in 1981–1982

PACS REPORTING SPENDING THE MOST MONEY INDEPENDENTLY	INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES FOR	AGAINST	TOTAL
1. National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC)	137,724	3,039,490	3,177,214
2. Citizens Organized to Replace Kennedy (of LAPAC)[a]	0	416,678	416,678
3. Fund for a Conservative Majority (FCM)	0	388,399	388,399
4. Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC)	36,455	219,055	255,510
5. NRA Political Victory Fund (National Rifle Association)	232,250	477	232,797
6. American Medical Association PAC (AMPAC)	211,624	0	211,624
7. Realtors PAC (R-PAC)	188,060	0	188,060
8. Progressive PAC (PROPAC)	8,090	134,795	142,885
9. Independent Action, Inc.	0	132,920	132,920
10. League of Conservation Voters (LCV)	129,163	0	129,163

CANDIDATES FOR/AGAINST WHOM MOST MONEY WAS SPENT	ELECTION RESULT	INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES FOR	AGAINST	TOTAL
Senate				
1. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.)	Won	500	1,146,135	1,146,635
2. Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.)	Won	29,501	697,763	727,264
3. Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.)	Won	9,184	270,749	279,933
4. John Melcher (D-Mont.)	Won	40,118	228,011	268,129
5. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.)	Won	0	226,662	226,662
6. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.)	Won	21,248	200,508	221,756
7. Howard Cannon (D-Nev.)	Lost	0	192,801	192,801
8. EdmundBrown, Jr. (D-Calif.)	Lost	7,632	146,346	153,978
9. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah)	Won	22,081	82,772	104,853
10. Harrison Schmitt (R-N.M.)	Lost	5,682	76,575	82,287
House				
1. Thomas P. O'Neill (D-Mass.)	Won	0	318,114	318,114
2. Jim Wright (D-Tex.)	Won	0	217,115	217,115
3. Jim Jones (D-Okla.)	Won	13,266	127,029	140,295
4. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.)	Won	0	57,507	57,507
5. Bob Edgar (D-Pa.)	Won	24,762	8,943	33,705
6. Bill Chappell (D-Fla.)	Won	30,332	0	30,332
7. Jim Dunn (R-Mich.)	Lost	24,013	5,500	29,513
8. John Kasich (R-Ohio)	Won	27,294	0	27,294
9. Jim Coyne (R-Pa.)	Lost	25,019	1,681	26,700
10. Edward Weber (R-Ohio)	Lost	17,442	5,500	22,942
TOTALS				
All Democrats		369,461	4,047,034	4,416,495
All Republicans		882,579	550,046	1,432,625
All Incumbents		815,300	4,425,222	5,240,522
All Challengers		290,226	24,669	314,895
All Open-Seat Candidates		146,514	147,180	293,703
Grand Total		1,252,040	4,597,080	5,849,120

SOURCE: Federal Election Commission.
[a] Citizens Organized to Replace Kennedy was a special project of the Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC).

216

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How to Judge a Candidate

To the student:

The purpose of this pamphlet is to help you judge candidates for public office. Your teacher will give you specific assignments from the material. Before you begin, read through all the steps and familiarize yourself with what you will be doing. As you do the assignments, you will keep notes in a journal and will fill out the Candidate Report Card on page 4.

To the teacher:

This pamphlet has been designed so that you may select from among the suggested activities and assign those most appropriate for your class and for the time available. If time is short, you may want to gather the information and materials described in Steps 2 and 3 and assign students only selected activities. Consider dividing the class into groups and assigning different activities to different students. Note that this pamphlet was written for use in a general election, although most activities are also applicable to a primary election. Consider using **How to Watch a Debate** *also available from the League of Women Voters (see order information on page 4) as an additional resource.*

Elections present voters with important choices. Whether it is a local race that will affect your community or a national race that could change the direction of the country, it is a time to consider the issues which you care about and decide which candidate you support. Even if you are under 18 and not yet eligible to vote, election campaigns offer an excellent way to learn about the people and issues that affect your future.

But how do voters go about comparing and then judging the candidates? All too often, slogans, name recognition and personality are all that come through in campaign materials. As television has come to dominate political campaigns, it has become difficult to move beyond a candidate's image to the substance of a campaign.

However, it is possible to move beyond style to substance. The seven steps outlined in this brochure are designed to help you judge a candidate.

STEP 1:

Decide what you are looking for in a candidate.

Candidates can be judged in two ways: the positions they take on issues and the leadership qualities and experience they would bring to the office. Both are important. Your first step in picking a candidate is to decide the issues *you* care about and the qualities *you* want in a leader.

When you consider issues, think about community or national problems that you want people in government to address. For example, you may be interested in the threat of nuclear war, government funding for student loans or teenage unemployment. Those are issues.

When you consider leadership qualities, think about the characteristics you want in an effective leader. Do you look for intelligence, honesty, an ability to communicate? What else?

As a class, discuss the important issues in this election and the leadership qualities you look for in a candidate. Select from the class list those issues and qualities that are most important to *you* in this campaign. Record them on the "Candidate Report Card" on page 4.

STEP 2:

Find out about the candidates.

Pick a campaign to study. It can be any type of race: for a national office (such as president, senator, or representative), for a state race (such as governor), or for a local race (such as city council member or school board member). It will probably be easier to follow a visible race that is hotly contested or that involves a major office. Work alone or with a group of students to learn more about the candidates.

First, find out which candidates are running in the race you are following by making a phone call to your local elections board, political party headquarters, or a political reporter on your local newspaper. Or look in the *Voter's Guide* published by your local League of Women Voters. Find out *all* of the candidates who are eligible to appear on the ballot. Be sure to include minor party and/or independent candidates.

STEP 3:

Gather materials about the candidates.

Put together a "library" of information about the candidates. Collect any information you can find on the candidates. Call campaign headquarters and watch the press. Sources of information from which you may choose include:

- Campaign literature
- Direct mail letters (mass mailings sent to selected voters asking for support and funds)

- Press reports (newspaper clippings and television and radio reports)
- Radio and television ads (call campaign headquarters and find out when ads are aired, or ask if you can view them at headquarters)
- Candidates' speeches
- Candidate debates

In a local race, interviews with the candidates can be helpful. For incumbents, a look at their voting records on issues that you have listed as important can tell you the candidates' positions on those issues.

STEP 4:

Evaluate candidates' stands on issues.

As you read the materials you collect, keep a journal. Do the materials give you an overall impression of the candidates? What specific conclusions can you draw about the candidates' stands on issues? Record what you have learned about their stands on your priority issues from each source. Fill in the Candidate Report Card as you gather new information about the candidates.

STEP 5:

Learn about the candidates' leadership abilities.

Deciding if a candidate will be a good leader is difficult. How can you know if someone will be honest, open or able to act under pressure if elected to office? Here are some ways to read between the lines as you evaluate the candidates' leadership qualities.

1. Look at the candidates' background and their experience. How well prepared are they for the job?

2. Observe the candidates' campaigns. Do they accept speaking engagements before different groups — even those groups that might not be sympathetic? Do they accept invitations to debate? Do the campaigns emphasize media events, where the candidates can be seen but not heard? (For instance, a candidate is seen cutting ribbons to open new bridges rather than talking about transportation.)

3. Review the campaign materials. As you read the materials and watch the campaign develop, add to your journal information that provides insights into candidates' personalities and leadership qualities. For example, do campaign materials emphasize issues or just image? Are they accurate? Add this information to the Candidate Report Card.

STEP 6:

Learn how other people view the candidate.

Now that you have accumulated information from campaigns and other sources, you will want to learn what other people think about the candidates. Their opinions can help clarify your own views, but do not discount your own informed judgments. You may be the most careful observer of all!

1. Seek the opinions of others in your community who keep track of political campaigns. Interview three people (not family members), such as a shopkeeper, neighbor or politically active volunteer, to find out which candidate they support and why. Learn what has shaped their political opinions. Was it an event? An idea or program proposed by a candidate? A particular issue about which they feel strongly? A long-standing party loyalty?

2. Learn about endorsements. This is a way for interest groups and organizations to give a "stamp of approval" to a candidate. Endorsements provide clues to the issues a candidate supports. For instance, a candidate endorsed by the Sierra Club (an environmental organization) will be in favor of legislation that protects the environment. A candidate endorsed by the National Rifle Association would be opposed to gun control laws. Get a list of endorsements from each of the candidates' headquarters. Find out what these groups stand for and find out why they are endorsing this candidate.

3. Look into campaign contributions. Where do the candidates get the funds to finance their campaigns? Do they use their own money or raise funds from a few wealthy donors, from many small contributors or from Political Action Committees? (PACs, as they are known, are groups formed to raise and distribute money to candidates.) Many types of information about campaign contributions must be reported to the government and are watched by the press. Check the newspaper for stories on campaign finance. How might these campaign contributions affect the candidates' conduct in office? You might also want to analyze an incumbent's voting record on issues important to PACs and other campaign contributors.

4. Throughout the campaign, opinion polls will be taken by a variety of groups to evaluate public support for the different candidates. Polls reveal who is leading at a certain point in the race. This information can be crucial for a candidate because it can increase support and contributions from people who want to be on the winning team. As you read the polls, ask these questions: Who sponsored the poll? Were all the figures released? (When parties and candidates pay for polls, they may not publish unfavorable data.) What kinds of questions were asked? Were they slanted or unbiased? How were respondents selected — randomly or in such a way to include all segments of the population? How many people were included in the poll sample?

See through distortion techniques

All candidates are trying to sell themselves to voters. Sometimes their language is so skillfully crafted that they distort the truth in ways that are difficult for even the most careful observer to detect. Here are examples of distortion techniques that you should watch for as you review candidates' campaign materials.

Common distortion techniques:

- *Name calling/Appeals to prejudice:*

These are attacks on an opponent based on characteristics that will not affect performance in office. Accusations such as, "My opponent is arrogant and full of hot air," do not give any real information about the candidate. References to race, ethnicity or marital status can be subtly used to instill prejudice.

- *Rumor mongering:*

These include statements such as, "Everyone says my opponent is a crook, but I have no personal knowledge of any wrongdoing," which imply (but do not state) that the opponent is guilty.

- *Guilt by association:*

These are statements such as, "We all know Candidate B is backed by big money interests," that attack candidates because of their supporters rather than because of their stands on the issues.

- *Catchwords:*

These are phrases such as "Law and Order" or "un-American" that are designed to trigger a knee-jerk emotional reaction rather than to inform.

- *Passing the blame:*

These are instances in which a candidate denies responsibility for an action or blames an opponent for things over which he or she had no control.

- *Promising the sky:*

These are unrealistic promises that no one elected official could fulfill.

- *Evading real issues:*

These include instances in which candidates may avoid answering direct questions, offer only vague solutions or talk about the benefits of proposed programs but never get specific about possible problems or costs.

Evaluate candidates' use of television

More and more, people tune in to television for their main source of information. Television is a visual medium dependent on good pictures and timely events to tug at your emotions and keep your interest. Candidates are aware of the potential power of television and try to use it to their advantage. For instance, in a newscast, the picture you see of a crowd with banners and balloons cheering for a candidate may have been staged by a media advisor whose job is to make the candidate look good on television. As you watch news coverage of campaigns, be aware of staged events (also known as photo opportunities) and try to find out what the candidate is saying about the issues.

The same warning applies to televised political advertisements. When you watch political ads, you need to be aware of how the medium influences your reactions. Ask yourself some questions as you watch. Did you find out anything about issues or qualifications? Or was the ad designed only to affect your attitude or feelings about a candidate? How important were the script, setting and music?

STEP 7:

Sorting it all out.

Review the information in your *Candidate Report Card* and compare all the candidates. Ask yourself these final questions.

- Which candidate's views on the issues do you agree with the most?
- Who ran the fairest campaign?
- Which candidate demonstrated the most knowledge on the issues?
- Which candidate has the leadership qualities you are looking for?

Is the choice clear? If so, pick a candidate.

Candidate Report Card

ISSUES My priority issues	**My position**	**Candidate A**	**Candidate B**	**Candidate C**
Example: *student aid*	*I am for government-sponsored student aid*			
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				

LEADERSHIP QUALITIES	**I want...**	**Candidate A**	**Candidate B**	**Candidate C**
Example: *honesty, flexibility*				
1				
2.				
3.				
4.				

My Choice: ______________________________

Now that you have thought through your choices, DO SOMETHING!

1. Back the candidates you believe in.
2. Talk to your friends and classmates about "your" candidate.
3. Don't be afraid to ask questions at candidate meetings, at rallies and when a campaign worker rings your doorbell.
4. Call television and radio stations to praise or criticize campaign spots.
5. Be a letter writer. Tell candidates, newspapers and party leaders how you feel about the issues.
6. Volunteer to work on a campaign.
7. When you turn 18, register to vote. Then, on election day go to the polls and vote!

Credits:

This pamphlet is part of the League of Women Voters Education Fund project, "Agenda for Security: Election '86." Funding for the project is provided by the W. Alton Jones Foundation, Inc. of Charlottesville, Virginia and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Researched and written by Kara McCollum and Deborah Goldman, LWVEF

Order from:

League of Women Voters of the United States, 1730 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 429-1965. Pub. #818, 75¢ (50¢ for members). Quantity discounts available.

The LWVEF companion pamphlets **How to Watch a Debate** *(Pub. #819, 75¢/50¢ for members) and* **Pick a Candidate** *(Pub. #259, 10/$1.50 minimum order) are also available from the League of Women Voters at the above address.*

H. LESSON VII - RESOURCES: CAMPAIGN SIGNS AND MEMORABILIA

Lawn Signs, Brochures, Posters,
Bumper Stickers, and Other Campaign Materials

1980 Ronald Reagan Campaign Brochure

Objective #3: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand how to use the following resources which give voters information about candidates and issues by explaining how information is presented in each:

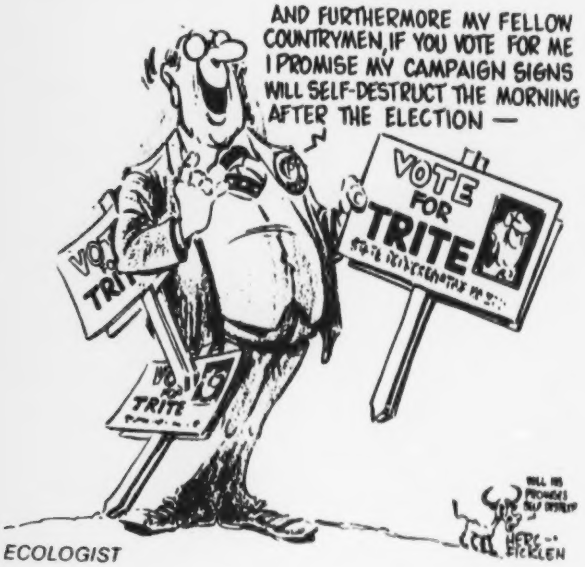
e. Campaign Signs and Memorabilia

LAWN SIGNS, BROCHURES, POSTERS, BUMPER STICKERS, AND OTHER CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

A final type of resource about candidates and issues are those visible, traditional symbols of politics: signs, posters, brochures, flyers, bumper stickers, buttons, and the like. For the most part, these are used to stimulate interest in the campaign and to promote name familiarity of the candidate. Wearing a button or putting a bumper sticker on your car also helps the voter further identify with the candidate or issue and carries the message to the voters' friends and neighbors.

1. Discuss how name familiarity of candidates may or may not provide electors with the most qualified candidate for the job.

2. Study Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign brochure. Brochures do give extra information about candidates and issues--albeit information from a not-entirely-objective perspective! What issues are addressed in this brochure? What qualifications are emphasized? Are any techniques used to persuade through emotional appeals?


AND FURTHERMORE MY FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, IF YOU VOTE FOR ME I PROMISE MY CAMPAIGN SIGNS WILL SELF-DESTRUCT THE MORNING AFTER THE ELECTION —
VOTE FOR TRITE
STATE REPRESENTATIVE
TRITE
TRITE
WILL HIS PROMISES SELF DESTRUCT
HERC FICKLEN

ECOLOGIST

Bush 88

Memorabilia

(Add $2 50 Shipping & Handling)
(Add 5% Mass. Sales Tax to Watches & Mugs)
Shirt & Pant Sizes: S - M - L - XL Hats: One Size Fits All

Mugs
5.50
Plus 5%
Mass. Sales Tax

Sweatshirts
14.00
Colors Available
White
Navy
Grey
Red

T Shirts
7.00
Colors Available
White
Navy
Red

Sweaters
25.00
Colors Available
White
Red
Navy

Sweatpants
14.00
Red
Navy

Corduroy Hats
7.00
Red
Navy

Summer Hats
6.00
Red/White Front
Navy/White Front

Golf Shirts
15.00
Navy
Red
White

Tote Bags
Small 12.00
Large 15.00
Royal Blue

Watches
25.00
Plus 5%
Mass. Sales Tax

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18.00
White
Navy

Ties
17.50
Red
Navy

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"To really care about America is to care about its people, because America IS the people . . . that's what it's all about . . ."

Ronald Reagan

A great country DEMANDS great leadership . . . leadership that really cares about people - and about the future of America.

"Before America can regain world respect, it must regain its SELF respect."

Ronald Reagan

Let's be great again . . . let's become . . .

. . . **AN AMERICA** that cares about its honest hard-working citizens who are forced to struggle every day just to keep going, only to discover that inflation has played a dirty trick on them . . . making the savings from a lifetime of sacrifice almost meaningless and leaving them to be classified among our **POOR!** Let's help them to find relief from relentless inflation and a burdensome bureaucratic government that is making the people who make up the backbone of America poor and subservient.

. . . **AN AMERICA** that has true compassion for our elderly, our sick and our poor who find themselves helpless to deal with the problems of aging, disease and poverty . . . and help them in ways that will not rob them of their dignity and self respect.

. . . **AN AMERICA** that offers **REAL** opportunity to **ALL** the people regardless of age, race or creed . . . an opportunity to strive and **SUCCEED** in that all important quest for happiness.

. . . **AN AMERICA** that is strong again, with the moral, spiritual and military strength to support its resolve to do what's right in its steadfast committment to freedom and human dignity.

. . . **AN AMERICA** whose love of peace and hatred of war will balance its strength with the healthy measure of restraint and understanding that peace demands.

. . . **AN AMERICA** that will never again have to bow to a handful of terrorists, or even to super powers who, virtually at will, move without conscience or integrity against innocent people.

. . . **AN AMERICA** with the strength and committment in foreign affairs that does **NOT** vacillate and that commands the respect of all nations of the world - friendly or unfriendly and demands that they honor our word and our integrity as they once did.

Ronald Reagan is probably the greatest advocate for patriotism, freedom and opportunity and love of country in America today. He has carried that message to the american people for years. He cares about the people and he cares about our country.

"This is a great Country . . . but it's not being run like a great Country. That's why I'm running for President."

Ronald Reagan

Ronald Reagan has the understanding, the desire, the ability and the proven experience we need.

WE CAN COUNT ON HIM!

Reagan's Record of Accomplishment . . .

As governor of California for eight years, Ronald Reagan proved what better government can do. By itself, California would be the eighth largest industrial nation in the world. The state faced bankruptcy when Governor Reagan took office. And the legislature was dominated by the other party.

Asserting his leadership, Governor Reagan turned the state's red ink to black. He gave the taxpayers $5.7 billion tax relief, in the form of credits and rebates. He left his successor with a $500 million surplus. In 1973 he pioneered the now-popular tax reform movement, with his sponsorship of Proposition One. And in six of his eight years, California had a lower inflation rate than the rest of the U.S.

His welfare reforms produced dramatic results. By cutting out fraud and chiseling, he was able to increase grants to the truly needy by an average of 43%. It is not surprising that Ronald Reagan was twice elected by huge majorities in a heavily Democratic state.

I'm your neighborhood **REAGAN** for **PRESIDENT** Chairman. I want a leader who can make America great again . . . that's why I'm giving my time and energy to elect **RONALD REAGAN** as our next President. I'd really appreciate your help . . . with your vote. If I can be of any assistance to you in registering to vote or getting to the polls, or if you have any questions, feel free to call me.

MY NAME IS ______________________

MY PHONE NUMBER IS ______________________

Reagan for President -
United States Senator Paul Laxalt, Chairman
Bay Buchanan, Treasurer
A copy of our report is filed with and available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463

223

Let's Make America Great Again!
For President

I. LESSON VIII - THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN VOTING AND ELECTIONS

Political Party Summary

Minor Political Parties

Choosing a Political Party

Questions for Discussion/Essay

Objective #6: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

a. understand the relationship between joining a political party and voting in the primary elections by explaining the relevant election rules.

b. know that there are minority parties in the United States by listing three.

c. understand how to choose a political party by outlining how to find information about political parties.

d. analyze the relationship between political parties and democratic government by examining the role of parties in creating power, in responding to the people, and in providing freedom of choice through qualified candidates. The learner will further analyze political parties by examining the impact of adding political parties or reducing our system to a single party system.

POLITICAL PARTY SUMMARY

Political parties play an important role in our democratic government. They promote interest in elections by backing qualified candidates and taking positions on issues of public concern. Parties involve many people in politics at the local, state and national levels by organizing volunteers to work for candidates and ballot measures. Political parties also offer financial support to qualified candidates who might otherwise not have the opportunity to run for office.

In our system of government, there are two major political parties--the Democratic and Republican parties--and many small minor political parties. All parties have the goal of attracting and keeping membership. In our system, the two major parties compete for members by offering candidates and positions on issues which they believe will appeal to a broad base of the electorate. "This sometimes makes the parties so similar that any choice between them is like a choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Since both parties must seek majority support in order to acquire power, they both must please substantially the same people. The fact that both parties resemble each other so closely, then, may mean that both are doing a reasonably good job of interpreting public opinion." (Melville, The American Democratic System, p. 125.)

Political parties also change over time, however. Recently, the two major parties have sought to distinguish themselves in positions on issues of the economy, human rights, foreign policy and defense, and the environment. Labels of conservative and liberal have been passed back and forth. Also the traditional membership of the major parties, according to geographic region, race and ethnicity, religion, and profession are now becoming less clear-cut.

Minor parties, while also seeking growth in membership, are less interested in mass appeal and more concerned about single issues or remaining consistent with one school of political thought. On several occasions, minor party candidates have caught the interest of the American people and threatened the major party candidates. Examples include George Wallace in 1968 and John Anderson in 1980.

Other democratic governments maintain multi-party systems, while some governments (although these are generally authoritarian) have only a single political party. The following outline summarizes the advantages and disadvantages of two-party, multi-party, and single-party systems. It is followed by a short summary of the components of political party organization in the United States.

One final note: in the United States political parties play a key role in acquisition of power in the various branches and agencies of government. The dominant political party members in our legislative branches gain key positions on committees and are selected as chairpersons and speakers. When the dominant party in Congress or the legislature matches the political party affiliation of the chief executive, programs are adopted with much greater ease than when the two branches are represented by opposing political parties. Indeed, the two-party system has played a significant role in the "watchdog" and "checks and balances" activities of national, state, and local government.

The two-party system:

1. competes for members and support, thus constantly attempting to reflect majority public opinion.

2. promotes compromise within the party before an election and between the two parties after an election.

3. results in majority victories by candidates, increasing government stability.

4. allows the Chief Executive to represent the views of a broad base of the population.

The multi-party system:

1. offers more variety of opinions through political parties.

2. offers more opportunities for existing social groups (religious, professional) to be represented by a political party.

3. can result in less compromise before an election, less desire to appeal to the general electorate, less broad base of support for the Chief Executive, and less overall stability in government.

The single-party system:

1. leads to lower levels of voter participation, less interest in public affairs, and less identification with the views of the party.

2. offers more opportunities for corruption in the party and by the candidates.

3. is found more often in authoritarian governments.

Political Party Organization in the United States

National Chairman
National Committee
Senate/House Campaign Committees
State Central Committees
County and City Committees
Local Precinct Organizations
Informal Organizations
(local campaign committees, clubs)
General Membership / Voters

MINOR POLITICAL PARTIES

The information in the following summary is based on the following resources: F. Smallwood, The Other Candidates and T. Modl, America's Elections. Another good analysis of third parties in American politics can be found in S. Rosenstone, et al, Third Parties in America. (See bibliography for details.) The following outline describes a number of the more prominent minor parties in the United States. It is, by no means, all-inclusive.

THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENT PARTY (AIP)

Founded in 1968 to support the presidential campaign of Alabama Governor George Wallace. Wallace was recognized for his outspoken views in favor of racial segregation and law and order. The AIP has since nominated Georgia Governor Lester Maddox in 1976 and Louisiana Congressman John Rarick.

THE AMERICAN PARTY

Founded in 1972 after George Wallace withdrew from the presidential race. This party has since declined, splitting into factions.

THE CITIZENS PARTY

Founded in 1979 by liberals disillusioned with Jimmy Carter's presidency. The Citizens Party nominated Barry Commoner for President in 1980. Its major concerns involve nuclear issues, environmental issues, energy issues, and "democratic social governance of the means of production."

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (CPUSA)

Founded in 1919 to advance the interests of "all working people and all specially oppressed peoples." This party seeks to replace capitalism with socialist democracy, where the working class leads the government and the government owns and operates industry.

"INDEPENDENT" CANDIDATES

There are candidates who run as "independents." They are not affiliated with the American Independent Party and run independent of any political party.

THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY

Founded in 1971 to promote the philosophy of individual liberty: each individual has the absolute right to exercise dominion over personal life, liberty, and property, while respecting the rights of others. Libertarians support free trade and property rights and oppose censorship, taxation, the draft, and government regulation.

THE NATIONAL HAMILTONIAN PARTY

Founded in 1965 to "bring nobility, ability and dignity back to American government." Thie party was named after the first U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, who believed in government by an educated elite. Hamiltonians promote limiting the right to vote to the most educated and prominent citizens.

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY

Founded in 1969, this party seeks to repeal all laws that legalize the sale and use of alcoholic beverages. Other positions advocated by the party include: a balanced budget, limits on taxation powers by Congress, a Human Life Amendment, free-market economic policies, and stronger legal provisions against gambling and pornography.

THE NATIONAL UNITY CAMPAIGN

The political "movement" (not a political party) which sponsored the candidacy of John Anderson in 1980. By running as an independent National Unity candidate, Anderson was able to qualify for retroactive federal funding for his campaign and got on the ballot in fifty states, realizing the second highest total popular vote for any third party or independent candidate in U.S. history. His candidacy focused on concerns about energy, nuclear war, economic planning, and liberal views on school prayer, abortion, and lifestyles issues.

THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY

A socialist electoral coalition in California with over 40,000 registered members. Party positions include the elimination of defense spending, reduction of the work week, centralization of the economy, abolition of individual taxes, and elimination of social and legal discrimination agianst women and minorities.

THE RIGHT-TO-LIFE PARTY

Founded in 1970 to oppose abortion. The party supported the candidacy of Ellen McCormack in the 1980 presidential election.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY USA

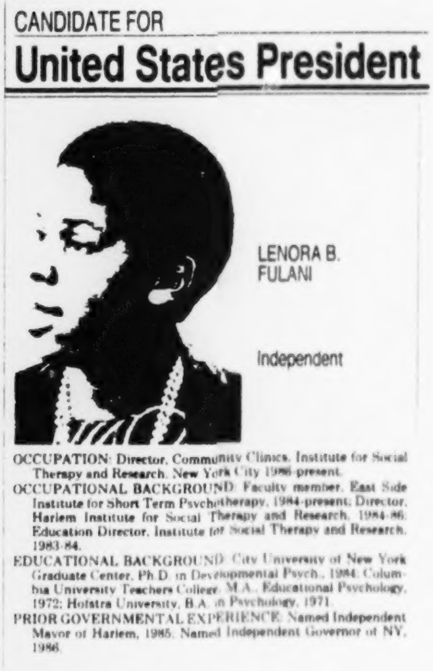
Founded in 1901 to establish a classless, socialist society. The party strongly supports the rights of women and minorities and advocates a national healthcare program, nuclear disarmament, and industries governed by the workers.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

Founded in 1938 to promote the ideals of classical Marxism. The SWP supported its first presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, in 1948. This party distinguishes itself from the Communist Party (USA) by following the Trotsky ideology to bring about a worldwide system of socialism, thus promoting "real democracy."

THE WORKERS WORLD PARTY

Founded in 1959, splitting from the Socialist Workers Party. The party advocates socialism in the "fullest, free sense of the word," and has supported antiwar and civil rights demonstrations. The Workers World Party tends to side with the communist regimes in communist governments such as Poland and Hungary, while the SWP sides with the Solidarity movement in Poland. The party's first presidential candidate was Deirdre Griswold in 1980.



CANDIDATE FOR

United States President

LENORA B. FULANI

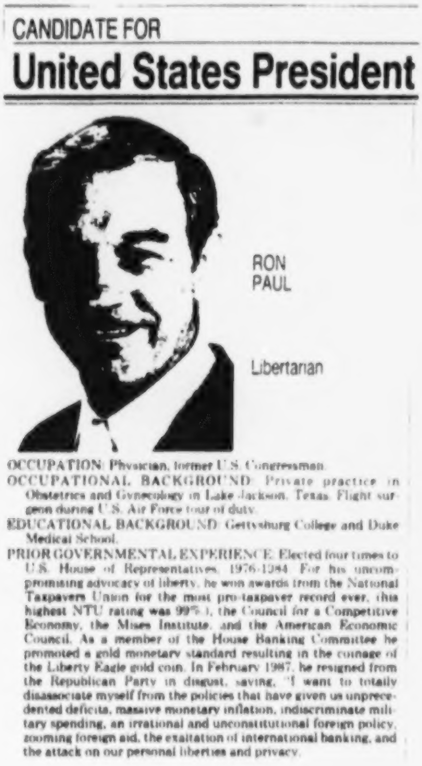
Independent

OCCUPATION: Director, Community Clinics, Institute for Social Therapy and Research, New York City 1986-present.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND: Faculty member, East Side Institute for Short Term Psychotherapy, 1984-present; Director, Harlem Institute for Social Therapy and Research, 1984-86; Education Director, Institute for Social Therapy and Research, 1983-84.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND: City University of New York Graduate Center, Ph.D. in Developmental Psych., 1984; Columbia University Teachers College, M.A., Educational Psychology, 1972; Hofstra University, B.A. in Psychology, 1971.

PRIOR GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE: Named Independent Mayor of Harlem, 1985. Named Independent Governor of NY, 1986.



CANDIDATE FOR

United States President

RON PAUL

Libertarian

OCCUPATION: Physician, former U.S. Congressman.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND: Private practice in Obstetrics and Gynecology in Lake Jackson, Texas. Flight surgeon during U.S. Air Force tour of duty.

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND: Gettysburg College and Duke Medical School.

PRIOR GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE: Elected four times to U.S. House of Representatives, 1976-1984. For his uncompromising advocacy of liberty, he won awards from the National Taxpayers Union for the most pro-taxpayer record ever (his highest NTU rating was 99%), the Council for a Competitive Economy, the Mises Institute, and the American Economic Council. As a member of the House Banking Committee he promoted a gold monetary standard resulting in the coinage of the Liberty Eagle gold coin. In February 1987, he resigned from the Republican Party in disgust, saying, "I want to totally disassociate myself from the policies that have given us unprecedented deficits, massive monetary inflation, indiscriminate military spending, an irrational and unconstitutional foreign policy, zooming foreign aid, the exaltation of international banking, and the attack on our personal liberties and privacy.

David Broder, columnist, recently discussed his observations on a recent move by the National Organization for Women to establish a third party. (Statesman Journal, July 30, 1989)

NOW goofed, missed a chance for real planning

Commentary

David Broder

Maybe they should just ban all political conventions south of the 40th parallel in the summertime.

Look at what's happened. The Democrats went to Atlanta last summer and came away with Michael Dukakis. The Republicans went to New Orleans and Dan Quayle happened to them.

And then last week, the National Organization for Women went to Cincinnati, which has a climate as muggy as Washington's, and came up with the worst idea yet.

In their frustration with the Supreme Court decision restricting abortion, the group's radical women activists marched through the sweltering streets and then voted to explore the prospects for an independent political party.

"They don't want to fool around with the (Republican and Democratic) parties any more," President Molly Yard said. "They're fed up."

The notion that you retaliate against the Supreme Court by dumping on the two parties has a certain cockeyed logic to it — but only if the thermometer has melted your brain.

It's true that the five-member majority on the Webster decision was drawn from appointees of both parties' presidents. But so was the dissenting four-member minority.

How that leads to the conclusion that you're better off starting up your own party is beyond reckoning. It's the sort of idea that takes hold only when the temperature-humidity index hits 200.

The crucial climatological factor will be demonstrated this week when another group of abortion-rights advocates, the National Women's Political Caucus, holds its biennial convention starting Thursday in relatively comfortable St. Paul.

Irene Natividad, outgoing president of the group, says its approach will be very different from that of the National Organization of Women.

"The window through which we're looking at this," she said, "is traditional, grassroots politics. The grunt work is not sexy, but it's the practical way to get at this question."

In fact, the tow groups are separated by much more than the few hundred miles of convention sites. Where one is strident and showboating, the other is a practical, plausible and eminently effective outfit.

Natividad said the emphasis in St. Paul will be on demonstration projects like the one the group supported last fall in Westchester County, N.Y., and will repeat this autumn in a legislative district in New Jersey.

In New York, a coalition of women's groups, working without publicity, came to the aid of Nita M. Lowey, a pro-choice congressional challenger opposing anti-abortion incumbent Rep. Joseph J. DioGuardi, R-N.Y.

Working across party lines, they pooled their efforts to conduct an exhaustive phone canvass and construct a voter file of abortion-rights supporters, who were then mobilized to vote on Election Day.

Many factors went into Lowey's narrow 2,600-vote victory, but this was surely one of them. "Now," Natividad said, "we want to see if the same thing can be done at the state legislative level."

So they have selected a district in New Jersey, one of the few states voting this fall, where a pro-choice challenger is opposing an anti-abortion incumbent.

"If it works in New Jersey," Natividad said, "we will use the same technique in legislative races across the country in 1990," when abortion is expected to be a major issue in state after state.

Speaking of the hours of phoning it takes to construct the voter file, she said: "It's drudge work, which no one likes to do. It's not as glamorous as big protest marches. But it's what works. It's simple practical politics."

Besides its practicality, the approach has the virtue of honesty. It lets people put their energy into activity which has a possibility of rewarding their hopes.

The National Organization of Women's pursuit of the third-party phantom is a guaranteed exercise in futility, a literal waste of time.

☐ **David Broder** is a Washington Post columnist. He won the 1973 Pulitzer Prize for commentary.

CHOOSING A POLITICAL PARTY

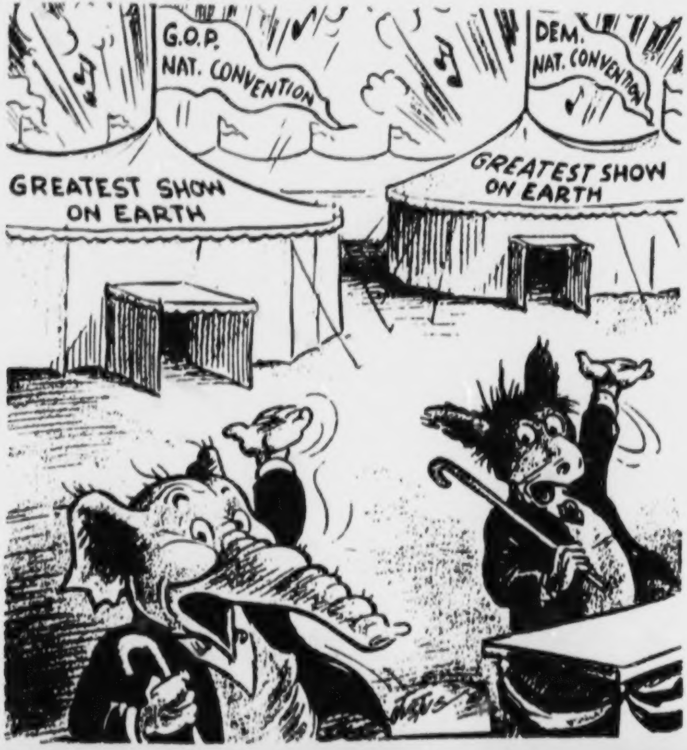
Oregon law requires that in order to vote for partisan candidates in the primary elections, you must register as a member of one of the two major political parties: Democratic or Republican. (You may still vote for nonpartisan candidates and ballot measures in the primaries, even if you are not a major party member.) Many citizens choose to join a major party in order to exercise their right to vote for all offices in the primary elections.

How do you decide which political party to join? Not surprisingly, many people follow the views of their friends and families. In fact, 80% of the American people join the same political party as their parents.

Before you choose a party, however, you may wish to investigate which values and positions on issues the parties represent, and then choose a party which best serves your own interests. Be aware that you will probably not find a party with which you agree on everything. And remember, you can always change your party affiliation by reregistering to vote!

Every four years at their presidential nominating conventions, the national parties adopt party platforms. State party organizations likewise hold conventions and adopt platforms. The platforms are filled with political compromises and can change over time. They are designed to gain maximum unity among party members while offering the greatest possible appeal to the public.

Party platforms are good sources of information about where the parties stand on issues. By reading the platforms and comparing issues, you can find out which political party best matches your own beliefs. On the following page is a brief summary comparing the 1988 Oregon Republican and Democratic platforms.



Ron Justus/
Minneapolis Star

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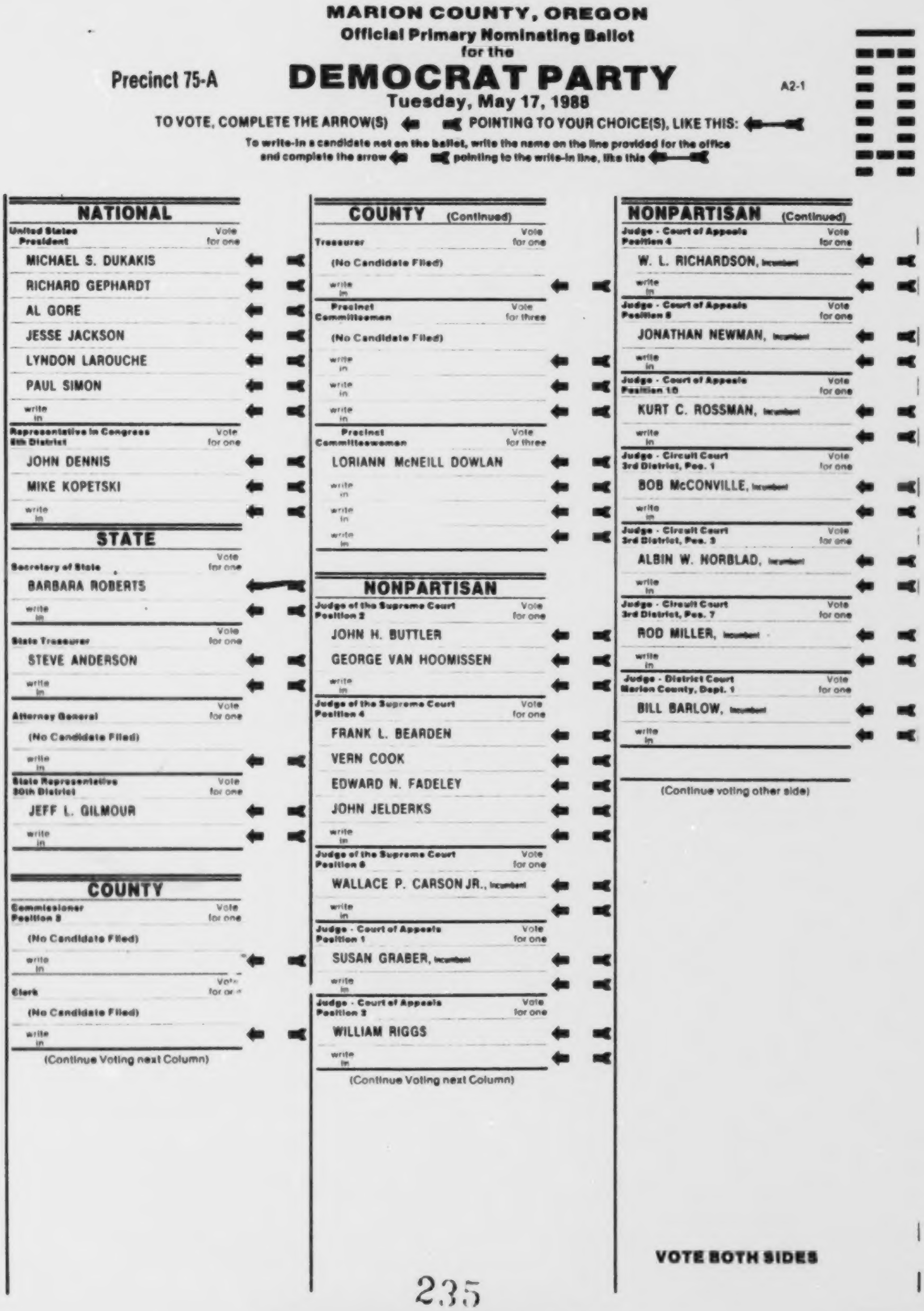
COMPARISON OF OREGON REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS
1988 ELECTION

Following are brief summaries of selected platform positions from Oregon's two major parties. A better understanding of the differences between the parties is achieved by comparing the full texts of the two platforms. The Republican platform is available from the Oregon Republican Central Committee, 10050 SW Allen Blvd, Beaverton, OR. 97224, (627-0745); and the Democratic platform may be obtained from the Democratic Party of Oregon, P.O. Box 15057, Salem, OR. 97309; (370-8200).

REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS
EDUCATION	
English should be taught as the official language, second languages to be taught as electives. Physical science should include teaching of Creationism. Mandatory sex education should not be taught in public schools. AIDS curriculum should present the health problem, not the civil rights issue.	Bilingual education should be available for non-English speaking students. Favor age appropriate human sexuality, AIDS, and drug abuse education K-12.
Support dissolution of State Textbook Commission, returning curriculum selection to local commun.	Oppose censorship of curriculum and material selection by local communities.
Support tuition tax credits or a voucher system for both public and private K-12 schools.	Oppose the voucher system or tax credit system in public schools.
Support abolition of U.S. Dept. of Educ. Favor privatization of school support services such as transportation, maintenance, etc.	Support increasing state funding of schools to 50% and updating tax bases of school districts to responsible levels.
	Oppose school sponsored prayed in public schools.
CRIME AND JUSTICE	
Support the death penalty.	Oppose the death penalty.
Believe in privatization of prisons and jails.	Support expansion of alternative sanctions prior to further building of maximum or medium security facilities.
Favor mandatory severe prison sentences for drug dealing.	Seek additional funding for victims of crime.
Affirm consitutional guarantee of "right to bear arms". Oppose registration of firearms.	
FAMILY	
Totally opposed to abortion. Support a human life amendment to Constitution. Oppose public funds to organization which support abort.	Support government funded prenatal and abortion services for low income women.

REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS
FAMILY (cont.)	
Homosexuality and lesbianism should not be promoted by the laws or any public institution.	
Gov't child care programs must strengthen, not weaken, the family unit, provide fair and equal treatment, benefit the recipients without undue bureaucracy.	Endorse permanent solution to problems of homeless.
	Support up to 12 weeks parental and medical leave.
	Support public assistance eligibility standards that reflect actual living costs.
HEALTH	
Affirm right of individual to freedom of choice in selecting a physician when covered by insurance.	Support a universal, comprehensive health plan that is cost effective and distributes costs equitably among all
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS	
Strongly oppose right to work laws	Absolutely reject right to work laws.
Recognize inaliencable rights for all, special rights for none.	Support Governor's order protecting employment rights against discrimination based on sexual orientation.
ENVIRONMENT	
LCDC should be abolished and replaced by a citizens advisory board.	Support Oregon's land use laws and LCDC.
Encourage recycling and reduction of waste materials through free market.	States and cities should provide incentives for recycling, both mandatory and voluntary.
Support strong multiple use concept of our public lands. Adequate wilderness and single-use areas exist.	Expand designation of Wild and Scenic Rivers where appropriate.
FOREIGN POLICY	
Direct and indirect aid to all communist and anti-American countries should be stopped.	Channel U.S. economic aid through international bodies.
Favor a strong CIA without undue oversight by Congress.	Eliminate covert operations of CIA.
Remove sanctions against S. Africa and secure S. Africa from a Marxist takeover.	Support political and economic sanctions on S. Africa and call for immediate independence of Namibia.
Request U.N. headquarters be removed from U.S. and U.S. contributions to U.N. be lowered.	Strengthen the U.N.
Urge full funding of SDI and reject concept of Mutually Assured Destruction.	Urge prompt ratification of Treaty on Intermediate Nuclear Force. Seek future agreements to reduce U.S. & USSR nuclear capab. by 50%

In Oregon primary elections, voters can cast ballots only for candidates belonging to their own political party in partisan races. All registered voters may vote for nonpartisan candidates and ballot measures.



MARION COUNTY, OREGON
Official Primary Nominating Ballot
for the
Precinct 75-A DEMOCRAT PARTY A2-1
Tuesday, May 17, 1988

TO VOTE, COMPLETE THE ARROW(S) POINTING TO YOUR CHOICE(S), LIKE THIS:

To write-in a candidate not on the ballot, write the name on the line provided for the office and complete the arrow pointing to the write-in line, like this

NATIONAL

United States President — Vote for one
MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS
RICHARD GEPHARDT
AL GORE
JESSE JACKSON
LYNDON LAROUCHE
PAUL SIMON
write in

Representative in Congress 5th District — Vote for one
JOHN DENNIS
MIKE KOPETSKI
write in

STATE

Secretary of State — Vote for one
BARBARA ROBERTS
write in

State Treasurer — Vote for one
STEVE ANDERSON
write in

Attorney General — Vote for one
(No Candidate Filed)
write in

State Representative 30th District — Vote for one
JEFF L. GILMOUR
write in

COUNTY

Commissioner Position 3 — Vote for one
(No Candidate Filed)
write in

Clerk — Vote for one
(No Candidate Filed)
write in

(Continue Voting next Column)

COUNTY (Continued)

Treasurer — Vote for one
(No Candidate Filed)
write in

Precinct Committeemen — Vote for three
(No Candidate Filed)
write in
write in
write in

Precinct Committeewomen — Vote for three
LORIANN McNEILL DOWLAN
write in
write in
write in

NONPARTISAN

Judge of the Supreme Court Position 2 — Vote for one
JOHN H. BUTTLER
GEORGE VAN HOOMISSEN
write in

Judge of the Supreme Court Position 4 — Vote for one
FRANK L. BEARDEN
VERN COOK
EDWARD N. FADELEY
JOHN JELDERKS
write in

Judge of the Supreme Court Position 6 — Vote for one
WALLACE P. CARSON JR., Incumbent
write in

Judge - Court of Appeals Position 1 — Vote for one
SUSAN GRABER, Incumbent
write in

Judge - Court of Appeals Position 3 — Vote for one
WILLIAM RIGGS
write in

(Continue Voting next Column)

NONPARTISAN (Continued)

Judge - Court of Appeals Position 4 — Vote for one
W. L. RICHARDSON, Incumbent
write in

Judge - Court of Appeals Position 8 — Vote for one
JONATHAN NEWMAN, Incumbent
write in

Judge - Court of Appeals Position 10 — Vote for one
KURT C. ROSSMAN, Incumbent
write in

Judge - Circuit Court 3rd District, Pos. 1 — Vote for one
BOB McCONVILLE, Incumbent
write in

Judge - Circuit Court 3rd District, Pos. 3 — Vote for one
ALBIN W. NORBLAD, Incumbent
write in

Judge - Circuit Court 3rd District, Pos. 7 — Vote for one
ROD MILLER, Incumbent
write in

Judge - District Court Marion County, Dept. 1 — Vote for one
BILL BARLOW, Incumbent
write in

(Continue voting other side)

VOTE BOTH SIDES

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY

1. In Rice v. Elmore (1947), the Supreme Court declared that political parties are not "private clubs," but "state institutions, governmental agencies through which sovereign power is exercised by the people." Do you agree or disagree? Support your opinion.

2. Do political parties respond to the needs of the people? In other words, do parties make our system more or less democratic?

3. How do third party candidates impact national elections? Do successful third party candidates provide a strong argument for keeping the Electoral College system? Why or why not? (See pp. 49-58 for a review of the Electoral College.)

4. What problems might have resulted under the original Constitutional plan where the President and Vice President could be from different political parties? Do you believe our present system is better? State your reasons.

5. What would our election system be like without political parties? Can you think of any advantages? disadvantages?

6. Under a single-party system, why do you think governments are more authoritarian? Do you think the quality of candidates would improve or decline under a one-party system? Do you think elections would be more issue-oriented or more personality-oriented under one-party politics?

7. Do you think political parties should fund political campaigns? Why or why not?

8. How much difference does the political party of a candidate make in your decision whether or not to vote for that candidate? Consider the following scenarios (remember that majority parties in Congress get key leadership positions on committees): Republican President/ Republican majority in Congress; Republican President/Democratic majority in Congress--or vice versa. How would political parties influence the power of the President in the above scenarios? of the Congress? Would you be willing to vote for a member of your political party to increase its power in Congress--even if you felt the other candidate was better qualified?

EXTRA CREDIT ACTIVITIES:

1. Take a survey of your classmates, or schoolwide. How many will choose (or have already chosen) to be Democrats? Republicans? What influenced their decisions?

2. Investigate starting (or joining) a Young Republicans/Young Democrats organization at your school.

J. LESSON IX - INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, AND RECALL

Definitions

Steps to File an Initiative Petition in Oregon

Example of Time Line for Statewide Initiative Petition

Questions for Discussion/Essay - Initiative

Sample Initiative Forms

Initiative Process Activity Idea

Steps to File a Referendum Petition in Oregon

Example of Time Line for Statewide Referendum Petition

Questions for Discussion/Essay - Referendum

Sample Referendum Forms

Initiative and Referendum - Oregon Blue Book Activity

Steps to File a Recall Petition in Oregon

Questions for Discussion/Essay - Recall

Objective #7: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

a. know the meaning and significance of the terms initiative, referendum, and recall by defining them.

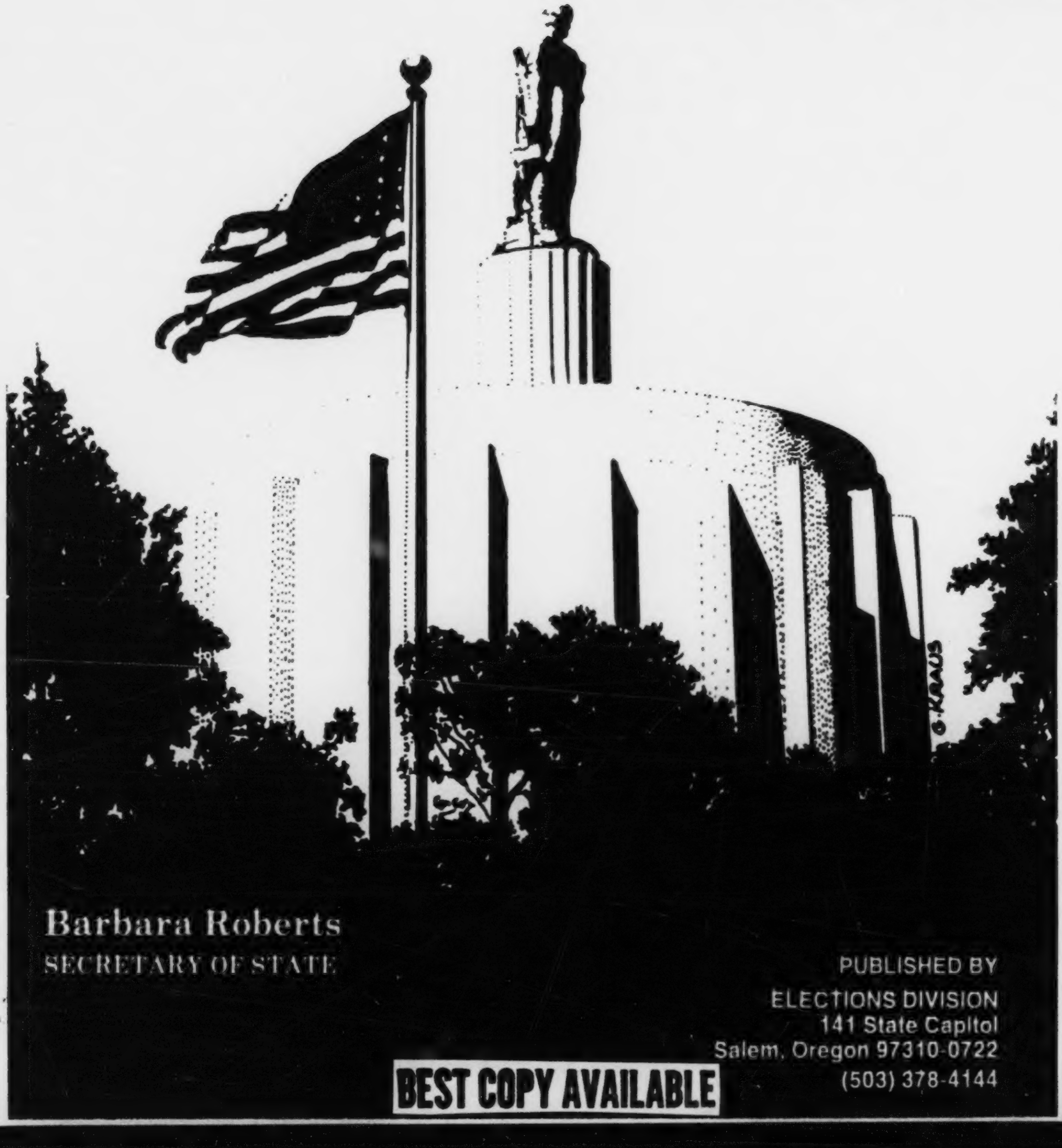
b. understand the initiative process by describing the steps in filing an initiative petition.

c. understand the referendum process by describing the steps in filing a referendum petition.

d. understand the recall process by describing the steps in filing a recall petition.

The information and sample forms provided in this section are taken from the following resource handbook:

1988 Initiative, Referendum and Recall



Barbara Roberts
SECRETARY OF STATE

PUBLISHED BY
ELECTIONS DIVISION
141 State Capitol
Salem, Oregon 97310-0722
(503) 378-4144

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DEFINITIONS

INITIATIVE:	enables the people to propose new laws or change the State Constitution through a ballot measure at the general election. Promoters of an initiative must obtain a specific number of signatures on a petition to place the measure on the ballot. Has been used 297 times at the state level since adopted in 1902.
REFERENDUM:	allows the people to refer an act of the legislature or other governing body to a vote of the electorate. Referendum supporters must also obtain a specific number of names on petitions for placement of the referendum on the ballot. Has been used 58 times at the state level since adopted in 1902.
RECALL:	a powerful instrument used to remove a public officer from office. Adopted by amendment to the Oregon State Constitution in 1908. Has had limited use in Oregon on the state level, but is increasingly used in local government. Every Oregon public officer except a U.S. Senator or U.S. Representative is subject to recall by the electors of the officer's electoral district.

--Based on information from the _Oregon Blue Book_. (1989-90)

STEPS TO FILE AN INITIATIVE PETITION IN OREGON

Step 1 - Petitioners file an original prospective initiative petition and two copies. (State petition to Sec. of State; Local to local election officer.)

-There need be no more than 3 "chief petitioners."
-There must be 25 electors as sponsors.
-Petitioners must also state whether circulators (who collect signatures) will be paid.

-The proposed measure should be stated in legal language. The Secretary of State's office suggests that petitioners seek legal assistance. However, the office of Legislative Counsel will assist in preparing the measure:

- if requested to do so in writing by at least 50 electors,
- and if the Legislative Counsel Committee believes that the measure will obtain enough signatures to be placed on the ballot.

Step 2 - The Secretary of State distributes the text of the initiative measure. (Local elections officer for local petitions.)

-to the legislative assembly.
-to other interested persons.
-The measure must meet the one-subject-only requirement in the Oregon Constitution. (Must be about only one subject!)

Step 3 - The Attorney General provides a ballot title for the initiative measure. (District Attorney for local measures.)

-a caption (10 words or less)
-a question (20 words or less)
-an impartial statement (85 words or less)

-The Secretary of State notifies the chief petitioner and others about the ballot title and whether it has been determined that the measure meets the one-subject-only rule.

-There are legal deadlines required for each step in this process.

Step 4 - The petitioners submit exact copies of their cover and signature sheets to the Secretary of State (or local elections officer).

-Cover sheet contains: instructions, chief petitioners' names and addresses, the ballot title, and the full text of the measure.
-Signature sheets contain: 20 or less signature lines per page, the ballot title caption, spaces for a signer's signature, printed name, address, precinct, and date of signing.
-There must also be a statement signed by the petition circulator stating that the circulator believes that all signers are registered, eligible electors and that the electors signed in the presence of the circulator.

Step 5 - Petitioners have circulators collect signatures.

-Number of valid signatures needed: (valid = registered voters residing within the appropriate district)

statewide measure (statutory) - 6% of the number of voters who cast ballots for Governor during the most recent gubernatorial general election. Currently 6% = 63,578.

statewide measure (constitutional amendment) - 8% of the number of voters who cast ballots for Governor during the most recent gubernatorial general election. Currently 8% = 84,770.

county measure - 6% of the gubernatorial votes in the county as calculated by the county election officer.

district measure - 15% of the gubernatorial votes in the district as calculated by the county election officer.

city measure - 15% of the registered electors in the city.

Step 6 - Petitioners file the initiative petition for verification of signatures. (The Secretary of State sends petitions with signatures from each county to the County Clerk who verifies them.)

DEADLINES:

statewide measure - at least four months before the election.

county measure - 90 days before the election.

district measure - anytime.

city measure - anytime, unless otherwise provided for in the city charter or ordinance.

Step 7 - Petitioners file a statement of campaign and expenditure information. (contributions received and expenses)

Step 8 - The Secretary of State determines the financial effect of the initiative measure.

-Required for any measure which will increase or reduce public spending by the state.
-Dollar estimate made.
-Secretary of State receives assistance from the State Treasurer, the Director of the Executive Department and the Director of the Department of Revenue.

Step 9 - The Secretary of State prints the measure in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet. (for statewide measures only)

-Statement includes: ballot title, financial effect, full text, measure number, explanation, and arguments for and against the measure.

EXAMPLE OF TIME LINE FOR STATEWIDE INITIATIVE PETITION

	Action	Time Frame	*Example Date	Time Line
1.	File prospective initiative petition with statement of sponsorship with Secretary of State on SED 120P.	Anytime	September 15, 1987	
2.	Secretary of State distributes text of proposed initiative petition and asks for comments on one-subject-only ruling and sends two copies to Attorney General.	Immediately upon receipt of prospective petition.	September 15, 1987	
3.	Attorney General prepares draft ballot title.	Not later than 5th business day after receipt.	September 22, 1987	
4.	Secretary of State publishes statewide notice and notifies petitioners of draft ballot title.	Immediately upon receipt of draft ballot title from Attorney General.	September 22, 1987	
5.	Comments on draft ballot title and one-subject-only ruling due in Secretary of States office; these are immediately sent to Attorney General.	Not later than 10th business day after draft ballot title received by Secretary of State.	October 6, 1987	
6.	Attorney General reviews comments on draft ballot title and certifies ballot title; may be same as draft or revised.	Not later than 5th business day after comments due on draft ballot title.	October 13, 1987	
7.	Secretary of State notifies chief petitioners and those who wrote comments on draft ballot title of certified ballot title, and the decision on compliance with one-subject-only rule.	Immediately upon receipt of certified ballot title from Attorney General.	October 13, 1987	
8.	Anyone who submitted written comments on the draft ballot title may petition the Supreme Court if dissatisfied with certified ballot title.	Not later than 10th business day after date ballot title is certified.	October 27, 1987	
9.	Petition cover and signature sheets must be approved by Secretary of State.	Can be done immediately after ballot title is certified. However, it is suggested that they wait until after appeal period ends.	October 13, 1987 to after October 27, 1987	
10.	Circulate for signatures.	As soon as approval for circulation by Secretary of State.		
11.	At least 100% of signatures to be filed for signature verification.	a. If filed by 165th day before general election and is found insufficient, may submit additional signatures by deadline.	May 27, 1987	
		b. No later than 4 months before general election.	July 8, 1988	
12.	Secretary of State verifies signatures to determine petition's sufficiency. If signatures are determined to be sufficient, becomes ballot measure on general election.	Not later than 15 days after the last day on which the petition may be filed.	No later than July 22, 1988	
13.	Contributions and expenditures report must be filed by petitioners.	If signatures are turned in for verification the report must be filed not later than 15th day after 100% of signatures are filed for verification. If signatures are not turned in for verification, not later than 15th day after the signature filing deadline.		

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY - Initiative

1. Why do you think that the initiative process requires 25 supporters before an initiative petition can first be filed with the Secretary of State?

2. Why does the Secretary of State recommend that petitioners seek the assistance of a lawyer when writing an initiative measure?

3. Under what circumstances will the Legislative Counsel help you write your initiative measure?

4. What is the "one-subject-only" requirement of the Oregon Constitution?

5. What information must be written by a person signing an initiative petition?

6. What qualifications must someone have to sign an initiative petition?

7. Do you think that the Secretary of State checks every signature when a petition is filed? (all 84,770+?)

8. If petitioners can't get the number of required signatures, the Secretary of State won't accept their initiative petition.

    a. How many signatures are needed for a statewide statutory measure?

    b. If you were a petitioner, would you stop collecting signatures when you reached the required number? Why or why not?

    c. What might make some of the signatures invalid?

    d. What do you think the local County Clerk looks for when checking the validity of signatures?

9. What is the deadline for filing an initiative petition for statewide measures?

10. Why would voters be interested in knowing the financial effect of an initiative measure?

SAMPLE INITIATIVE FORMS

Some examples of initiative petition forms follow this page. Study the sample forms and answer the following questions.

1. What are the names of the chief petitioners?
2. What is the subject of the initiative measure?
3. What is the caption of the ballot title?
4. Does this initiative measure create a new statute or amend the Oregon Constitution?
5. Write a short explanation of the initiative measure.
6. Will the petitioners be paying the people who will be collecting signatures?
7. Give the name and address of one of the petition signers.
8. Who is the circulator of this particular page of signatures?
9. What did the petition circulator certify at the bottom of the page?
10. Summarize the grocers' arguments against this proposed measure.

SED 120 P
Rev 10/1985

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR CIRCULATORS

— A petition circulator must be an elector of the state

— Only electors may sign a petition

— Do not use ditto marks

— It is advisable to use a pen or indelible pencil for signing petitions

— Only one circulator may collect signatures on any one sheet of a petition

— All signers on any one sheet of a petition must be electors of the same county

— The signature sheet affidavit must be completed for each sheet by the circulator of that sheet

— It is unlawful for a person circulating a petition to knowingly make any false statement to any person who signs it or requests information about it

— It is unlawful to circulate or file a petition knowing it to contain a false signature

FOR SIGNERS

— Only electors may sign a petition

— Do not use ditto marks

— Sign your full name, as you did when you registered, and fill in the date on which you signed the petition, your residence address and your precinct in the spaces provided

— If your signature is difficult to read, print your name clearly in the space provided

— It is unlawful to sign any person's name other than your own. Do not sign another person's name under any circumstances

— A woman should sign her own name, not her husband's or her husband's initials, for example, "Mary A Jones", not "Mrs John A. Jones"

— It is unlawful to sign a petition more than once

— It is unlawful for a person to knowingly sign a petition when not qualified to sign it

PROSPECTIVE PETITION

FOR STATEWIDE ☒ INITIATIVE ☐ REFERENDUM MEASURE

To the Secretary of State:

We, the undersigned, request that the Attorney General prepare a ballot title for the attached proposed measure to be submitted to the people of Oregon for their approval or rejection at the election to be held on November 3 1988

DESIGNATING CHIEF PETITIONERS
(ORS 250 045)

Every petition shall designate not more than three persons as chief petitioners, setting forth the name, residence address and title (if officer of sponsoring organization) of each

1. NAME (PRINT): Humphrey Birch SIGNATURE: Humphrey Birch
Residence Address: 245 Main Street
Mailing Address (if different):
City, State, Zip Code: Allenburg, OR 97000 PHONE: (503) 222-6666
(Sponsoring organization, if any)

2. NAME (PRINT): Maude Danby SIGNATURE: Maude Danby
Residence Address: 900 Bond Lane
Mailing Address (if different):
City, State, Zip Code: Dillman, OR 97999 PHONE: (503) 111-1122
(Sponsoring organization, if any)

3. NAME (PRINT): Zane Hilliard SIGNATURE: Zane Hilliard
Residence Address: 762 Ash Road
Mailing Address (if different):
City, State, Zip Code: Thistle, OR 97099 PHONE: (503) 888-9944
(Sponsoring organization, if any)

AN ACT

The Constitution of the State of Oregon is amended by creating Section 1 to a new ARTICLE XIX BILL OF RIGHTS to read:

ARTICLE XIX

GROCERY PRICES

"Section 1. (1) The state legislature shall establish a committee to review prices charged by grocery stores within the state to determine whether prices are exceeding prices which are considered to be fair and reasonable by the paying public.

(2) The legislative committee shall require any grocery outlet in the state to alter, amend or in any other way change its prices to meet what the paying public feels are fair and reasonable prices for products being sold.

(3) Prices in grocery stores shall be based solely upon amounts determined to be fair and reasonable by the paying public.

……

STATEMENT THAT PETITION CIRCULATOR WILL NOT BE PAID

I/we hereby declare that no person will be paid money or other valuable condiseration for obtaining signatures of electors on the attached petition/certificate. I/we understand that the filing officer must be notified not later than the 10th day after I/we first have knowledge or should have had knowledge that any person is being paid for obtaining signatures.

Date 9-15-87 Signed:* Humphrey Bach

Maude Danby

Zane Hilliard

Grocery Prices
Candidate or committee name, or subject of initiative or referendum petition

*Statement must be signed by:

a) candidate for petition for nomination;
b) chief petitioners for initiative or referendum petition;
c) chief sponsor for recall petition;
d) chief sponsor for certificate of nomination;
e) chief sponsor for minor political party formation petition.

SPONSORS: INITIATIVE PETITION ONLY

We, the undersigned electors, are sponsoring the attached initiative measure, and we have not previously signed a prospective petition sponsoring this proposed measure. (ORS 250.045)

A1b

Print Name	Date Signed Month/Day/Year	Signature	Residence Address Street and Number	City or Post Office	Precinct
1. Otto Preston	[illegible]	Otto Preston	226 Rose St.	[illegible] 97099	4
2. Peter Holland	10/10/87	Peter Holland	655 Fellows St.	Allenburg 970[illegible]	8
3. Sylvia Wickstrom	11/3/87	Sylvia Wickstrom	1499 Whistle St.	Thistle 97099	6
4. Stephanie Bates	11/3/87	Stephanie Bates	550 [illegible]	[illegible]	2
5. Jennifer Turner	11/9/87	Jennifer Turner	1675 Maple St.	Allenburg 970[illegible]	6
6. Helen Hood	11/13/87	Helen Hood	789 Mountain St.	Johnsville 97090	1
7. Perry Winkle	11/13/87	Perry Winkle	225 Thorn Ave	Thistle 97099	6
8. Jon Johnson	[illegible]	Jon Johnson	11 A John St. S.	Johnsville 970[illegible]	3
9. Samuel Allen III	11/14/87	Samuel Allen III	[illegible]	Allenburg [illegible]	1
10. Annabelle Allen	11-14-87	Annabelle Allen	500 Allen Ave.	Allenburg 9700[illegible]	1
11. Maxine Markham	11-14-87	Maxine Markham	[illegible] 5th St.	Allenburg 970[illegible]	1
12. Josephine Douglas	11-14-87	Josephine Doug[illegible]	Wellington Apt #23	Thistle [illegible]	6
13. Harry Harman	11-15-87	Harry Harman	65 Lincoln Ave	Thistle 97099	6
14. [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
15. Arlene Anderson	11-16-87	Arlene Anderson	2706 E Frost St	Johnsville 97090	3
16. Susie Sackcloth	11-16-87	Susie Sackcloth	109 S.E. 4th St.	Thistle 97099	5
17. Anthony Richards	11-16-87	Anthony Richards	400 Main, #3-B	Allenburg 97000	7
18. Michelle Bissel	11-16-87	Michelle Bissel	5105 Sand Beach St.	Allenburg 97000	2
19. John Smith	11-16-87	John Smith	707 First St.	Allenburg 97000	2
20. Hugby J. Simpleton	11-17-87	Hugby J. Simpleton	650 Fellows St	Allenburg 97000	6

I hereby certify that 25 signatures on this petition are those of electors. County Clerk or Deputy

Date: [illegible], 198[illegible] Boring County

CIRCULATOR'S CERTIFICATE

THIS CERTIFICATE MUST BE SIGNED.

STATE OF OREGON, County of Boring ss. I hereby certify that every person who signed this sheet did so in my presence, and I believe that each individual is an elector. (ORS 250.045)

Signature of Circulator: Jean Smith
Address 249 Main Street
Circulator Print Name: Jean Smith
City Allenburg
Zip 97000

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BALLOT MEASURE 1 ISN'T REDUCTION IN YOUR GROCERY PRICES! IT'S SOCIALISM IN DISGUISE!

Ballot Measure 1 says it will limit grocery prices to those that are considered to be fair and reasonable by the paying public.

Fair and reasonable by whose definition or whose standards? What might be fair and reasonable to a millionaire might be totally unreasonable to a single, working mother or an elderly person on a fixed income.

Ballot Measure 1 says a legislative committee will be set up to review prices charged by grocery stores. What criteria will be used to review those prices? Who will establish that criteria? What will be the makeup of that committee?

Ballot Measure 1 says this legislative committee will require grocery outlets in the state to alter, amend or change its prices to meet what the paying public feels is fair. How will this requirement be made? How will it be enforced? Who will enforce it?

This country was established on the free enterprise system. Ballot Measure 1 takes away that free enterprise system and replaces it with socialism. By telling a grocer what he will charge for a product takes away his freedom to run his business in a way that best meets the needs of his customers. It takes away his right of free enterprise.

A vote in support of Ballot Measure 1 will be a vote for government control. A vote in support of Ballot Measure 1 will be a vote for socialism. A vote in support of Ballot Measure 1 will be a vote against the free enterprise system.

DON'T GIVE UP LOCAL CONTROL! DON'T GIVE UP FREE ENTERPRISE!

VOTE NO ON BALLOT MEASURE 1

This argument endorsed by:
State Independent Grocers, Inc.
Grocery Wholesalers, Inc.
Super Market Local #433
Independent Truckers Local #63

Submitted by:
Eugene Phillips
Citizens Against Socialism
293 Main Street
Thistle, OR 97099

Eugene Phillips
ph. 999-6302

INITIATIVE PROCESS ACTIVITY IDEA

1. Draft a resolution or law about an issue which is currently being debated in Oregon, your county, your city, or even your school. (Suggestions: school finance, new prison locations, field burning, solutions to the drug problem.)

2. Designate a student (or your teacher) as the local election officer or Secretary of State. Follow the steps in filing an initiative petition, using the blank forms provided (pp. 248-250). You might ask a local attorney to look over your proposal.

3. Collect signatures within your school.

4. Contact your state legislator to find out what is being done about the issues you chose. You might even want to start the initiative process "for real!" (if you are an elector!).

SED 120-P
Rev. 10/1985

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR CIRCULATORS

- A petition circulator must be an elector of the state.
- Only electors may sign a petition.
- Do not use ditto marks.
- It is advisable to use a pen or indelible pencil for signing petitions.
- Only one circulator may collect signatures on any one sheet of a petition.
- All signers on any one sheet of a petition must be electors of the same county.
- The signature sheet affidavit must be completed for each sheet by the circulator of that sheet.
- It is unlawful for a person circulating a petition to knowingly make any false statement to any person who signs it or requests information about it.
- It is unlawful to circulate or file a petition knowing it to contain a false signature.

FOR SIGNERS

- Only electors may sign a petition.
- Do not use ditto marks.
- Sign your full name, as you did when you registered, and fill in the date on which you signed the petition, your residence address and your precinct in the spaces provided.
- If your signature is difficult to read, print your name clearly in the space provided.
- It is unlawful to sign any person's name other than your own. Do not sign another person's name under any circumstances.
- A woman should sign her own name, not her husband's or her husband's initials; for example, "Mary A. Jones", not "Mrs. John A. Jones."
- It is unlawful to sign a petition more than once.
- It is unlawful for a person to knowingly sign a petition when not qualified to sign it.

PROSPECTIVE PETITION

FOR STATEWIDE ☐ INITIATIVE ☐ REFERENDUM MEASURE

To the Secretary of State:

We, the undersigned, request that the Attorney General prepare a ballot title for the attached proposed measure to be submitted to the people of Oregon for their approval or rejection at the election to be held on ______________ 19___.

DESIGNATING CHIEF PETITIONERS
(ORS 250.045)

Every petition shall designate not more than three persons as chief petitioners, setting forth the name, residence address and title (if officer of sponsoring organization) of each.

1. NAME (PRINT): ______________ SIGNATURE: ______________
Residence Address: ______________
Mailing Address (if different): ______________
City, State, Zip Code: ______________ PHONE: ( ) ______________
(Sponsoring organization, if any) ______________

2. NAME (PRINT): ______________ SIGNATURE: ______________
Residence Address: ______________
Mailing Address (if different): ______________
City, State, Zip Code: ______________ PHONE: ( ) ______________
(Sponsoring organization, if any) ______________

3. NAME (PRINT): ______________ SIGNATURE: ______________
Residence Address: ______________
Mailing Address (if different): ______________
City, State, Zip Code: ______________ PHONE: ( ) ______________
(Sponsoring organization, if any) ______________

SED Form
No. 121
Revised
1/1988

SIGNATURE SHEET

PETITION FOR ( ) INITIATIVE ( ) REFERENDUM

THIS IS A STATE-WIDE MEASURE. SIGNERS OF THIS PAGE MUST BE REGISTERED VOTERS IN ______________ COUNTY ONLY.

To the Secretary of State of Oregon: We, the undersigned electors, request that the attached measure be submitted to the people of Oregon for their approval or rejection at the election to be held on ______________________, 19____. (ORS 250.025) We have not previously signed a petition sheet for this measure. (Insert caption or subject of Act) ____ (ORS 250.045)

Print Name	Date Signed Month/Day/Year	Signature	Residence Address Street and Number	City or Post Office	Precinct (If Known)
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					

CIRCULATOR'S CERTIFICATE

I, ______________, hereby certify that every person who signed this sheet did so in my presence, and I believe that each individual is an elector. (ORS 250.045)

Signature of Circulator: ______________

Address: ______________ Street

______________ City

______________ Zip

SAMPLE FORM

SED 120
Oct' 85

STATEMENT THAT PETITION CIRCULATORS WILL BE PAID

I/we hereby declare that one or more persons will be paid money or other valuable consideration for obtaining signatures of electors on the attached peititon/certificate. I/we understand that the filing officer must be notified not later than the 10th day after I/we first have knowledge or should have had knowledge that no person is being paid for obtaining signatures.

Date________________________ Signed:* ________________________

____

____

____
Candidate or committee name, or subject of initiative or referendum petition

*Statement must be signed by:

a) candidate for petition for nomination;
b) chief petitioners for initiative or referendum petition;
c) chief sponsor for recall petition;
d) chief sponsor for certificate of nomination;
e) chief sponsor for minor political party formation petition.

……

STATEMENT THAT PETITION CIRCULATOR WILL NOT BE PAID

I/we hereby declare that no person will be paid money or other valuable condiseration for obtaining signatures of electors on the attached petition/certificate. I/we understand that the filing officer must be notified not later than the 10th day after I/we first have knowledge or should have had knowledge that any person is being paid for obtaining signatures.

Date________________________ Signed:* ________________________

____

____

____
Candidate or committee name, or subject of initiative or referendum petition

*Statement must be signed by:

a) candidate for petition for nomination;
b) chief petitioners for initiative or referendum petition;
c) chief sponsor for recall petition;
d) chief sponsor for certificate of nomination;
e) chief sponsor for minor political party formation petition.

STEPS TO FILE A REFERENDUM PETITION IN OREGON

Step 1 - Petitioners file an original prospective referendum petition and two copies with the Secretary of State or local election officer.

-There need be no more than 3 "chief petitioners."
-The legislative act being referred must have already been passed by both houses of the State Legislature.
-Petitioners must also state whether circulators (who collect signatures) will be paid.

Step 2 - Petitioners submit exact copies of their cover and signature sheets to the Secretary of State or local election officer.

-Cover sheet contains: instructions, chief petitioners' names and addresses, a full and correct summary and text of the measure being referred.
-Signature sheets contain: 20 or less signature lines per page, spaces for the signer's signature, printed name, address, precinct, and date of signing.
-There must also be a statement signed by the petition circulator stating that the circulator believes that all signers are registered, eligible electors and that the electors signed in the presence of the circulator.
-Referendum signature sheets require a "relating" clause which tells the subject of the referred act.

Step 3 - Petitioners have circulators collect signatures.

-Number of valid signatures needed: (valid = registered voters residing within the appropriate district)

statewide measure -	4% of the number of voters who cast ballots for Governor during the most recent gubernatorial general election. Currently 4% = 42,385.
county measure -	4% of the gubernatorial votes in the county as calculated by the county election officer.
district measure -	10% of the gubernatorial votes in the district as calculated by the county election officer.
city measure -	10% of the registered electors.

Step 4 - Petitioners file the referendum petition for verification of signatures. (The Secretary of State sends petitions with signatures to the County Clerk who verifies them.)

DEADLINES:

statewide measure -	90 days after the end of the state legislative session at which the act was passed.
county measure -	90 days after the adoption of a nonemergency county measure. (Emergency measures may not be referred.)
district measure -	30 days after adoption of the district ordinance.
city measure -	30 days after adoption of city legislation.

Step 5 - The Attorney General writes a ballot title for the referendum measure.

-a caption (10 words or less)
-a question (20 words or less)
-an impartial statement (85 words or less)

-The Secretary of State notifies the chief petitioners about the new ballot title.

-There are legal deadlines required for each step in this process.

Step 6 - Petitioners file a statement of campaign and expenditure information. (contributions received and expenses)

Step 7 - The Secretary of State prints the measure in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet. (for statewide measures only)

EXAMPLE OF TIME LINE FOR STATEWIDE REFERENDUM PETITION

	Action	Time Frame	*Example Date	Time Line
1.	File prospective referendum petition filed with Secretary of State on SED 120P.	May be filed after act to be referred has been passed by both houses.		________
2.	Petition cover and signature sheets must be approved by Secretary of State.			
3.	At least 100% of signatures to be filed for signature verification.	Not later than 90th day after end of legislative assembly at which Act is passed.	September 25, 1987	________
4.	Secretary of State verifies signatures to determine petition's sufficiency. If signatures are determined to be sufficient, the petition becomes a ballot measure.	Not later than 15 days after petition filed for signature verification.	October 9, 1987	________
5.	Contributions and expenditures report must be filed by petitioners.	If signatures are turned in for verification, the report must be filed not later than 15th day after 100% of signatures are filed for verification. If signatures are not turned for verification, not later than 15th day after the signature filing deadline.	October 12, 1987	________
6.	Attorney General prepares a draft ballot title.	Not later than 10th business day after receipt.	October 23, 1987	________
7.	Secretary of State publishes statewide notice and notifies chief petitioners of draft ballot title.	Immediately upon receipt of draft ballot title from Attorney General.	October 23, 1987	________
8.	Comments on draft ballot title due in Secretary of State's office.	Not later than 10th business day after draft ballot title received by Secretary of State.	November 6, 1987	________
9.	Attorney General reviews comments on draft ballot title and certifies ballot title; may be same as draft or revised.	Not later than 5th business day after comments due on draft ballot title .	November 13, 1987	________
10.	Secretary of State notifies chief petitioners and those who wrote comments on draft ballot title of the certified ballot title.	Immediately upon receipt of certified ballot title from Attorney General.	November 13, 1987	________
11.	Anyone who submitted written comments on the draft ballot title may petition the Supreme Court if dissatisfied with certified ballot title.	Not later than the 10th business day after draft ballot title is certified.	November 27, 1987	________
12.	Five member explanatory committee appointed.	1st four appointed not later than 120th day before election; 5th member not later than 110th day before election.	July 11, 1988 and July 21, 1988	________ ________
13.	Explanatory committee must file impartial statement of 500 words or less.	Not later than 100th day before election.	July 31, 1988	________
14.	Public hearing to receive suggested changes on explanatory statement.	Not sooner than 100th day and not later than 95th day before election.	August 5, 1988	________
15.	Public arguments may be filed for inclusion in the state voters' pamphlet.	Not later than 95th day before election.	August 5, 1988	________
16.	Five member committee must file revised statement.	Not later than 90th day before election.	August 10, 1988	________
17.	Appeal may be filed on above statement with Supreme Court for review.	Not later than 85th day before election.	August 15, 1988	________

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY - Referendum

1. In what ways does the referendum petition process differ from the initiative process?
   a. What steps were left out? Why?
   b. Why is the "one-subject-only" rule not relevant to referendum petitions?
   c. Why isn't it necessary for the Secretary of State to distribute the referendum measure to the legislative assembly?
   d. Why isn't it necessary for the Secretary of State to determine the financial effect of a referendum measure?
   e. What steps were placed in a different order than the initiative process?
   f. Why do you think the Attorney General would want to wait until after signatures are collected to write a ballot title for the referendum measure? Why does this step precede collection of signatures for initiative petitions?

2. What is meant by the "relating clause" requirement on referendum petition signature sheets? What is included instead of the relating clause on initiative petition signature sheets? Why is this not a possible item to require on the referendum sheets?

3. How many signatures are needed to refer a statewide legislative measure to the Oregon voters?

4. May electors refer a measure which is currently being considered by the Oregon legislature? Why or why not?

5. Look at the following examples of referendum petition forms.
   a. Who are the chief petitioners?
   b. What is the subject of the legislation being referred?
   c. Will circulators be paid to collect signatures?

SAMPLE REFERENDUM FORMS

INSTRUCTIONS

FOR CIRCULATORS

- A petition circulator must be an elector of the state
- Only electors may sign a petition
- Do not use ditto marks
- It is advisable to use a pen or indelible pencil for signing petitions
- Only one circulator may collect signatures on any one sheet of a petition
- All signers on any one sheet of a petition must be electors of the same county
- The signature sheet affidavit must be completed for each sheet by the circulator of that sheet
- It is unlawful for a person circulating a petition to knowingly make any false statement to any person who signs it or requests information about it
- It is unlawful to circulate or file a petition knowing it to contain a false signature

FOR SIGNERS

- Only electors may sign a petition
- Do not use ditto marks
- Sign your full name, as you did when you registered, and fill in the date on which you signed the petition, your residence address and your precinct in the spaces provided
- If your signature is difficult to read, print your name clearly in the space provided
- It is unlawful to sign any person's name other than your own. Do not sign another person's name under any circumstances
- A woman should sign her own name, not her husband's or her husband's initials, for example, "Mary A. Jones", not "Mrs. John A. Jones"
- It is unlawful to sign a petition more than once
- It is unlawful for a person to knowingly sign a petition when not qualified to sign it

PROSPECTIVE PETITION

FOR STATEWIDE ☐ INITIATIVE ☒ REFERENDUM MEASURE

To the Secretary of State:

We, the undersigned, request that the Attorney General prepare a ballot title for the attached proposed measure to be submitted to the people of Oregon for their approval or rejection at the election to be held on November 8 1988

DESIGNATING CHIEF PETITIONERS
(ORS 250 045)

Every petition shall designate not more than three persons as chief petitioners, setting forth the name, residence address and title (if officer of sponsoring organization) of each.

1. NAME (PRINT): Martha J. Pitts SIGNATURE: Martha J. Pitts
Residence Address: 800 "E" Street
Mailing Address (if different):
City, State, Zip Code: West Vine, OR 97100 PHONE: (503) 616-1611
(Sponsoring organization, if any) Taxpayers Against Polling Place Crowds

2. NAME (PRINT): Benjamin Wethers SIGNATURE: Benjamin Wethers
Residence Address: 26 Blue Spruce Lane
Mailing Address (if different):
City, State, Zip Code: Mineola, OR 97500 PHONE: (503) 988-2144
(Sponsoring organization, if any) Taxpayers Against Polling Place Crowds

3. NAME (PRINT): SIGNATURE:
Residence Address:
Mailing Address (if different):
City, State, Zip Code: PHONE: ( )
(Sponsoring organization, if any)

64th OREGON LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY–1987 Regular Session

House Bill 2475

Sponsored by Representatives KOPETSKI, CEASE, DIX, KOTULSKI, SPRINGER, Senators CEASE, HAMBY, J. HILL, HOUCK, ROBERTS, TROW, WYERS, Representatives BARILLA, McTEAGUE (at the request of United Seniors of Oregon)

SUMMARY

The following summary is not prepared by the sponsors of the measure and is not a part of the body thereof subject to consideration by the Legislative Assembly. It is an editor's brief statement of the essential features of the measure **as introduced.**

Limits number of precincts voting at one polling place to one at primary and general elections. Provides exception if total number of electors at one polling place does not exceed 2,000.

A BILL FOR AN ACT

Relating to polling places; amending ORS 246.420.

Be It Enacted by the People of the State of Oregon:

SECTION 1. ORS 246.420 is amended to read:

246.420. (1) Not later than the 10th day before any election the county clerk shall designate one polling place for each precinct. The county clerk shall take into account the desirability that a polling place have adequate parking and lighting facilities and be accessible to the physically handicapped in accordance with state policy as stated in ORS 447.220. The county clerk may designate as a polling place any public building, including any schoolhouse, owned or leased by the state or any political subdivision thereof, and the public building may be used as a polling place without expense to the county. No official in charge of the public building may refuse its use as a polling place. If the public building has an entrance free of architectural barriers as defined by ORS 447.210, that entrance shall be kept unlocked during the hours the polls are open and its location clearly indicated at the main entrance of the building. [*More than one polling place may be designated in the same building.*]

(2) At a primary or general election, the county clerk shall not assign more than one precinct to one polling place. The county clerk may assign more than one precinct to one polling place if the total number of electors assigned to that polling place does not exceed 2,000.

[*(2)*] **(3)** Any published list of polling places for use by electors shall indicate by a uniform, nationally recognized physically handicapped symbol those polling places which are accessible to handicapped electors.

NOTE: Matter in **bold face** in an amended section is new; matter [*italic and bracketed*] is existing law to be omitted.

STATEMENT THAT PETITION CIRCULATORS WILL BE PAID

I/we hereby declare that one or more persons will be paid money or other valuable consideration for obtaining signatures of electors on the attached peititon/certificate. I/we understand that the filing officer must be notified not later than the 10th day after I/we first have knowledge or should have had knowledge that no person is being paid for obtaining signatures.

Date 8-15-87 Signed:* Martha G. [illegible]
Benjamin Withers

[illegible]
Candidate or committee name, or subject of initiative or referendum petition

*Statement must be signed by:

a) candidate for petition for nomination;
b) chief petitioners for initiative or referendum petition;
c) chief sponsor for recall petition;
d) chief sponsor for certificate of nomination;
e) chief sponsor for minor political party formation petition.

259

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INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM: OREGON BLUE BOOK ACTIVITY

The 1989-90 Oregon Blue Book lists measures which have appeared on the Oregon ballot since 1978. Measures referred by initiative petition are followed by an "I." Measures referred by referendum petition are followed by an "R."

Study the following lists and answer the following questions:

1. How many initiative measures (I) were submitted to the voters between May 23, 1978 and November 8, 1988?
2. How many referendum measures (R) were submitted to the voters between May 23, 1978 and November 8, 1988?
3. How many initiative measures passed?
4. How many referendum measures passed?
5. Compare the statistics you acquired in answering Questions 1-4. What conclusions can you draw from the numbers?
6. Which measures passed by the closest margins?
7. Which measures passed by the widest margins?
8. Can you find any measures which failed which you think should have passed? Which ones?
9. Can you find any measures which were submitted more than once? What are the most popular issues for initiative and referendum ballot measures?

The list that follows includes measures that have appeared on the Oregon ballot since 1978. The complete list since 1902 is available in earlier editions of the Blue Book.

Key *Adopted; L—Referred by the legislature; I—Submitted by Initiative petition; R—Referendum by petition

Election Date	Measure Number/Ballot Title	Yes	No
May 23, 1978			
	1. Home Rule County Initiative-Referendum Requirements—L[1]	*306,506	156,623
	2. Open Meetings Rules for Legislature—L[1]	*435,338	80,176
	3. Housing for Low Income Elderly—L[1]	*291,788	250,810
	4. Domestic Water Fund Created—L[1]	148,822	351,843
	5. Highway Repair Priority, Gas Tax Increase—L[2]	190,301	365,170
	6. Reorganizes Metropolitan Service District, Abolishes CRAG—L[2,3]	*110,600	91,090
November 7, 1978			
	1. Appellate Judge Selection, Running on Record—L[1]	358,504	449,132
	2. Authorizes Senate Confirmation of Governor's Appointments—L[1]	*468,458	349,604
	3. Vehicle and Fee Increase Referendum—R[2]	208,722	673,802
	4. Shortens Formation Procedures for People's Utility Districts—I[2]	375,578	471,027
	5. Authorizes, Regulates Practice of Denture Technology—I[2]	*704,480	201,463
	6. Limitations on Ad Valorem Property Taxes—I[1]	424,029	453,741
	7. Prohibits State Expenditures, Programs or Services for Abortion—I[2]	431,577	461,542
	8. Requires Death Penalty for Murder under Specified Conditions—I[2]	*573,707	318,610
	9. Limitations on Public Utility Rate Base—I[2]	*589,361	267,132
	10. Land Use Planning, Zoning Constitutional Amendment—I[1]	334,523	515,138
	11. Reduces Property Tax Payable by Homeowner and Renter—L[1]	383,532	467,765
	12. State Advisory Question, Federal Balanced Budget Amendment—[4]	*641,862	134,758
May 20, 1980			
	1. Constitutional Amendment Limits Uses of Gasoline and Highway User Taxes—L[1]	*451,695	257,230
	2. Amends Liquor by the Drink—L[1]	325,030	384,346
	3. State Bonds for Small Scale Local Energy Project Loan Fund—L[1]	*394,466	278,125
	4. Veterans' Home and Farm Loan Eligibility Changes—L[1]	*574,148	130,452
	5. Continues Tax Reduction Program—L[2]	*636,565	64,979
	6. Definition of Multifamily Low Income Elderly Housing—L[1]	*536,002	138,675

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[1] Constitutional Amendment

[2] Statutory Enactment

[3] Tri-county measure voted on in Clackamas, Multnomah and Washington Counties

[4] Required communication to federal officials on behalf of people of Oregon

Election Date	Measure Number/Ballot Title	Yes	No
November 4, 1980			
	1. Repeal of Constitutional Provision Requiring Elected Superintendent of Public Instruction—L[1]	291,142	820,892
	2. Guarantees Mentally Handicapped Voting Rights, Unless Adjudged Incompetent to Vote—L[1]	*678,573	455,020
	3. Dedicates Oil, Natural Gas Taxes to Common School Fund—L[1]	*594,520	500,586
	4. Increases Gas Tax from Seven to Nine Cents per Gallon—L[2]	298,421	849,745
	5. Forbids Use, Sale of Snare, Leghold Traps for Most Purposes—I[2]	425,890	728,173
	6. Constitutional Real Property Tax Limit Preserving 85% Districts' 1977 Revenue—I[1]	416,029	711,617
	7. Nuclear Plant Licensing Requires Voter Approval, Waste Disposal Facility Existence—I[2]	*608,412	535,049
	8. State Bonds for Fund to Finance Correctional Facilities—L[1]	523,955	551,383
May 18, 1982			
	1. Use of State Bond Proceeds to Finance Municipal Water Projects—L[1]	*333,656	267,137
	2. Multifamily Housing for Elderly and Disabled Persons—L[1]	*389,820	229,049
	3. State Bonds for Fund to Finance Corrections Facilities—L[1]	281,548	333,476
	4. Raises Taxes on Commercial Vehicles, Motor Vehicles Fuels for Roads—L[2]	308,574	323,268
	5. Governor to Appoint Chief Justice of Oregon Supreme Court—L[2]	129,811	453,415
November 2, 1982			
	1. Increases Tax Base When New Property Construction Increases District's Value—L[1]	219,034	768,150
	2. Lengthens Governor's Time for Postsession Veto or Approval of Bills—L[1]	385,672	604,864
	3. Constitutional Real Property Tax Limit Preserving 85% Districts' 1979 Revenue—I[1]	504,836	515,626
	4. Permits Self-Service Dispensing of Motor Vehicle Fuel at Retail—I[2]	440,824	597,970
	5. People of Oregon Urge Mutual Freeze on Nuclear Weapons Development—I[4]	*623,089	387,907
	6. Ends State's Land Use Planning Powers, Retains Local Planning—I[2]	461,271	565,056
May 15, 1984			
	1. State May Borrow and Lend Money for Public Works Projects—L[1]	332,175	365,571
	2. Increases Fee for Licensing and Registration of Motor Vehicles—L[2]	234,060	487,457
November 6, 1984			
	1. Changes Minimum Requirement for Recall of Public Officers—L[1]	*664,464	470,139
	2. Constitutional Real Property Tax Limit—I[1]	599,424	616,252
	3. Creates Citizens' Utility Board to Represent Interests of Utility Consumers—I[2]	*637,968	556,826
	4. Constitutional Amendment Establishes State Lottery, Commission, Profits for Economic Development—I[1]	*794,441	412,341
	5. Statutory Provisions for State Operated Lottery if Constitutionally Authorized—I[2]	*786,933	399,231
	6. Exempts Death Sentences from Constitutional Guarantees Against Cruel, Vindictive Punishments—I[1]	*653,009	521,687
	7. Requires by Statute Death or Mandatory Imprisonment for Aggravated Murder—I[1]	*893,818	295,988
	8. Revises Numerous Criminal Laws Concerning Police Powers, Trials, Evidence, Sentencing—I[2]	552,410	597,964
	9. Adds Requirements for Disposing Wastes Containing Naturally Occurring Radioactive Isotopes—I[2]	*655,973	524,214
September 17, 1985 (Special Election)			
	1. Amends Constitution: Approves Limited 5% Sales Tax for Local Education—L[1]	189,733	664,365
May 20, 1986			
	1. Constitutional Amendment: Bans Income Tax on Social Security Benefits—L[1]	*534,476	118,766
	2. Constitutional Amendment: Effect on Merger of Taxing Units on Tax Base—L[1]	*333,277	230,886
	3. Constitutional Amendment: Verification of Signatures on Initiative and Referendum Petitions—L[1]	*460,148	132,101
	4. Requires Special Election for United States Senator Vacancy, removes Constitutional provision—L[1]	*343,005	269,305
	5. Constitutional Amendment: $96 Million Bonds for State-County Prison Buildings—L[1]	300,674	330,429
November 4, 1986			
	1. Deletes Constitutional Requirement that Secretary of State Live in Salem—L[1]	*771,959	265,999
	2. Constitutional Amendment: Revising Legislative District Reapportionment Procedures After Federal Census—L[1]	*637,410	291,355
	3. Constitutional Amendment: Allows Charitable, Fraternal, Religious Organizations to Conduct Raffles—L[1]	*736,739	302,957
	4. Replaces Public Utility Commissioner with Three Member Public Utility Commission—L[1]	*724,577	297,973
	5. Legalizes Private Possession and Growing of Marijuana for Personal Use—I[2]	279,479	781,922
	6. Constitutional Amendment: Prohibits State Funding Abortions, Exception: Prevent Mother's Death—I[1]	477,920	580,163
	7. Constitutional 5% Sales Tax, Funds Schools, Reduces Property Taxes—I[1]	234,804	816,369
	8. Prohibits Mandatory Local Measured Telephone Service Except Mobile Phone Service—I[2]	*802,099	201,918
	9. Amends Constitution: Limits Property Tax Rates and Assessed Value Increases—I[1]	449,548	584,396

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[1] Constitutional Amendment

[2] Statutory Enactment

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Election Date	Measure Number/Ballot Title	Yes	No
	10. Revises Many Criminal Laws Concerning Victims' Rights, Evidence, Sentencing, Parole — I[2]	*774,766	251,509
	11. Homeowners', Renters' Property Tax Relief Program; Sales Tax Limitation Measure — I[2]	381,727	639,034
	12. State Income Tax Changes, Increased Revenue to Property Tax Relief — I[2]	299,551	720,034
	13. Constitutional Amendment: Twenty Day Pre-election Voter Registration Cutoff — I[1]	*693,460	343,450
	14. Prohibits Nuclear Power Plant Operation Until Permanent Waste Site Licensed — I[2]	375,241	674,641
	15. Supersedes "Radioactive Waste" Definition; Changes Energy Facility Study Payment Procedure — I[2]	424,099	558,741
	16. Phases Out Nuclear Weapons Manufactured With Tax Credits, Civil Penalty — I[2]	400,119	590,971
May 19, 1987 (Special Election)			
	1. State Role In Selection of High-Level Nuclear Waste Repository Site — L[2]	*299,581	100,854
	2. Continues Existing Levies To Prevent School Closures: Tax Base Elections — L[2]	*223,417	178,839
May 17, 1988			
	1. Authorizes Water Development Fund Loans for Fish Protection, Watershed Restoration — L[1]	*485,629	191,008
	2. Protective Headgear for Motorcycle Operators and Passengers and Moped Riders — L[1]	*486,401	224,655
November 8, 1988			
	1. Extends Governor's Veto Deadline After Legislature Adjourns; Requires Prior Announcement — L[2]	*615,012	520,939
	2. Common School Fund Investments; Using Income for State Lands Management — L[2]	*621,894	510,694
	3. Requires the Use of Safety Belts — L[2]	528,324	684,747
	4. Requires Full Sentences Without Parole, Probation for Certain Repeat Felonies — I[2]	*947,805	252,985
	5. Finances Intercollegiate Athletic Fund by Increasing Malt Beverage, Cigarette Taxes — I[2]	449,797	759,360
	6. Indoor Clean Air Law Revisions Banning Public Smoking — I[2]	480,147	737,779
	7. Oregon Scenic Waterway System — I[2]	*663,604	516,998
	8. Revokes Ban on Sexual Orientation Discrimination in State Executive Branch — I[2]	*626,751	561,355

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[1] Constitutional Amendment

[2] Statutory Enactment

You may have noticed that a number of the ballot measures listed in the Oregon Blue Book were designated by an "L." These are measures which were referred to the voters by the State Legislature.

Refer again to the Oregon Blue Book lists and answer the following:

1. How many measures were referred by the legislature (L)?

2. How does this figure compare with the referendum (R) measures and the initiative (I) measures?

3. Why do you think that the State Legislature would want the voters to decide an issue, rather than simply deciding it themselves?

4. Do you find the subjects of legislative referrals (L) more or less controversial than referendum (R) or initiative (I) measures? (Or do you find any difference at all?) Look for examples to justify your response.

5. How many of the referrals from the legislature require additional taxes or bonds for funding?

6. Why do you think the legislators would choose to send "money measures" to the voters for approval?

Legislators ask for voter opinion on seven issues

The 65th session of the Oregon Legislature sent seven measures to Oregon voters.

Three have been decided; four more will be decided in 1990.

The issues that are already out of the way are:

- The attempt to establish school district tax bases by a statewide vote. That idea was trounced in the May 16 election.
- A ban on exporting logs from state-owned lands and a change in the state constitution allowing police to keep property for law enforcement purposes that is confiscated in criminal cases. Both passed easily in the June 27 election.

Next year, voters will face four proposed amendments to the Oregon Constitution. The first will be voted on in November, the other three in May:

- Senate Joint Resolution 2. Voters will decide whether the Portland area Metropolitan Service District can adopt a home rule charter, giving it more power over its own affairs. Seven of Oregon's 36 counties have similar charters — Lane, Washington, Hood River, Multnomah, Benton, Jackson and Josephine.
- Senate Joint Resolution 12, a local option proposal allowing counties and special districts to use motor vehicle taxes to raise money for public transportation systems. If adopted, the proposal, along with a law boosting state vehicle registration fees 50 percent, could result in a registration fee of as much as $60 every two years. The fee now is $20 for a passenger vehicle.
- Senate Joint Resolution 41, which allows sale of bonds to provide money to deal with hazardous substances.
- House Joint Resolution 28, which would have the Legislature meet every year instead of meeting in odd-numbered years. The Legislature would meet for 135 days in odd-numbered years and 45 days in even-numbered years. By a two-thirds vote in both legislative chambers, the sessions could be increased in five-day increments.

Salem

Measure may let voters say no to candidates

Voters could reject all candidates for an office through an initiative measure filed with the state Elections Division.

The measure would amend the state constitution so voters would cast "yes" and "no" votes for each candidate, a division spokesman said Friday. Any candidates with more negative than positive votes would be rejected.

Jaka Okorn of Myrtle Creek sponsored the measure. He must collect 84,770 signatures by July 6 to put it on the November 1990 ballot.

STEPS TO FILE A RECALL PETITION IN OREGON

Step 1 - Petitioners file a prospective recall petition with the appropriate election officer.

-Petitioner must be from the district of the officer being recalled.
-Officer subject to recall must have held office for more than 6 months. (except a state senator or representative who may be recalled after 5 days from the beginning of the first legislative session after the election.)
-U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives may not be recalled.
-A separate petition must be filed for each officer to be recalled.
-Petitioners must also file a statement concerning political contributions and expenditures.

Step 2 - Petitioners prepare petitions for circulation.

-Cover sheet: must contain statement of reasons for recall petition in 200 words or less.

-Signature sheets: must contain lines for no more than 20 signatures per sheet. Signers must be registered voters residing in the appropriate district.

Step 3 - Petitioners circulate petitions.

-Number of signatures required: 15% of the total votes for Governor during the most recent gubernatorial election in the officer's electoral district.

Step 4 - Petitioners submit signatures to the appropriate election officer for verification.

-Deadline: 90 days after the petition is submitted.

Step 5 - The election officer determines an election date.

-If the officer subject to recall does not resign within 5 days of the filing of the petition, an election date is set.

-The election date must be within 35 days after the 5-day resignation period.

-The election ballot must state the reasons for the recall.

-The officer being recalled may submit a statement for the ballot.

-The officer subject to recall will continue in office until the election results are officially declared.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY - Recall

1. What might be some reasons that electors would want to recall a public official?

2. Why must the petitioners be from the same electoral district as the public official being recalled?

3. Why do you think that public officials in office less than six months are exempt from the recall process?

4. What is the standard for recalling state legislators? Why is this standard different from the standard for recalling public officials (see Question #3)?

5. Why are U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives exempt from the recall process?

6. Do you think having a recall process helps make public officials more accountable to the electors? How would this process influence your actions if you were a public official?

K. LESSON X - POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTION LAW

Introduction

A. Qualifications

B. Filing for Political Office

C. Voters' Pamphlet Regulations

D. Other Rules and Regulations

E. Contributions and Expenditures Reporting

Sample Forms: Contributions and Expenditures Reporting

Questions for Discussion/Essay - Political Campaigns and Election Law

Objective #8: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

a. know that Oregon law regulates elections in the areas of candidate qualifications, filing for office, submission of materials for the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet, and reporting campaign contributions and expenditures, by listing an example of one rule in each of these areas.

b. understand the rationale behind campaign finance reporting by explaining it.

Introduction

The discussion of political campaigns in this lesson will be limited to campaign regulations under Oregon election law. Information in this lesson is primarily from the Candidates and Political Parties Manual published by the Oregon Secretary of State.

The lesson will focus on the required qualifications of candidates, filing requirements, Oregon Voters' Pamphlet regulations, and contributions and expenditures disclosure requirements.

A. Qualifications

The laws of the United States and Oregon set qualifications for certain elective offices. Study the following offices and their qualifications. Questions for discussion are found on page 283.

A. Qualifications of Candidates

Not all offices listed below will appear on the 1988 primary and general election ballots.

In addition to other qualifications, each person appointed to fill a vacancy in an elective partisan office must be registered as being affiliated with the same political party as that of the elected predecessor.

1. United States Senator
   a. Age: 30
   b. Citizenship: Must have been a U.S. citizen for nine years. [Art. 1, § 3, U.S. Const.]
   c. Residence: Must be an inhabitant of the state.
   d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
   e. Term of Office: Six years.
   f. Vacancies: A special election will be called to fill a vacancy. [Art. 1, U.S. Const.; Art. V, § 16, Ore. Const.; ORS 236.130]

2. Representative in Congress
   a. Age: 25
   b. Citizenship: Must have been a U.S. citizen for seven years. [Art. 1, § 2, U.S. Const.]
   c. Residence: Must be an inhabitant of the state.
   d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
   e. Term of Office: Two years.
   f. Vacancies: The Governor calls a special election to elect a successor. [Art. 1, U.S. Const.; ORS 236.120, 188.120]

3. Governor
   a. Age: 30
   b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
   c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the state for the three years preceding the election.
   d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
   e. Term of Office: Four years. May serve only two successive terms.
   f. Vacancies: In order, the following succeed to the governorship:

      - The Secretary of State
      - The State Treasurer
      - The President of the Senate
      - The Speaker of the House

      The successor serves until the disability be removed or a Governor be elected at the next biennial election. [Art. V, § 8, Ore. Const.]

4. Secretary of State

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must be a resident of the state.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years. Eligible for election to only two successive terms.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is chosen at the next general election. [Art. V, § 16, Art. VI, Ore. Const.]

5. State Teasurer

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must be a resident of the state.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years. Eligible for election to only two successive terms.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is chosen at the next general election. [Art. V, § 16, Art. VI, Ore. Const.]

6. Attorney General

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must be a resident of the state.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is chosen at the next general election. [Art. V, § 16, Art. VI, Ore. Const., ORS ch. 180]

7. Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the state for more than five years preceding election.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is chosen at the next general election. [Art. V, § 16, Ore, Const., ORS 651.030]

8. Superintendent of Public Instruction

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must be a resident of the state.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is chosen at the next general election. [Art. V, § 16, Ore. Const.]

9. District Attorney

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must be a resident of the state.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is chosen at the next regular biennial election.
g. Special: At the time of election, the candidate must have been admitted to practice law in the Supreme Court of Oregon. [Art. VII, Ore. Const.; ORS ch. 8]

10. State Senator

a. Age: 21
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must have been an inhabitant of the county or district represented for at least one year preceding election.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The county court(s) or board(s) of commissioners of affected counties shall appoint a qualified person if:

1) a vacancy occurs during the session;

2) a vacancy occurs before the 60th day before the general election to be held during that term of office;

3) a vacancy occurs at any time after the 15th day before the first general election during that term and before the 60th day before the second general election to be held during that term of office; or

4) a special session of the Legislative Assembly will be convened before a successor to the office can be elected and qualified.

Otherwise, the voters fill the vacancy at the next regular biennial election. [Art. IV, Ore. Const.; ORS 171.050 et seq.]

11. State Representative

a. Age: 21
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must have been an inhabitant of the county or district represented for at least one year preceding election.
d. Party Affiliation: State by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Two years.
f. Vacancies: The county court(s) or board(s) of commissioners of affected counties shall appoint a qualified person if:

1) a vacancy occurs during the session;

2) a vacancy occurs before the 60th day before the general election to be held during that term of office; or

3) a special session of the Legislative Assembly will be convened before a successor to the office can be elected and qualified.

Otherwise, the voters fill the vacancy at the next regular biennial election. [Art. IV, Ore. Const.; ORS 171.050 et seq.]

12. Judge of the Supreme Court

a. Age: 18-75
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: Must have been a resident of Oregon for the three years immediately preceding election or appointment.
d. Party Affililation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Six years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until the next regular biennial election.
g. Special: At the time of election or appointment, the candidate must have been admitted to practice law in the Oregon Supreme Court. [Art. VII, Ore. Const.; ORS 2.020]

13. Judge of the Court of Appeals

a. Age: 18-75
b. Citizensip: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: See "g" below.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Six years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until the next regular biennial election.
g. Special: At the time of election or appointment, the candidate must have been admitted to practice law in this state and must be an elector of the county of residence. [ORS 2.540]

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4. Tax Court Judge

a. Age: 18-75
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence: See "g" below.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Six years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until the next regular biennial election.
g. Special: At the time of election or appointment, the candidate must have been admitted to practice law for three years in the Oregon Supreme Court. [ORS 305.452, 305.455]

15. Circuit Court Judge

a. Age: 18-75
b. Citizenship; Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence:
    1) Must have resided in Oregon at least three years and have principal office in or be a resident of the judicial district for at least one year immediately prior to appointment or becoming a candidate for election.
    2) Judge may reside within ten miles of the boundary of the judicial district if the district has a population of 500,000 or more according to latest federal decennial census. (Multnomah County)
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term in Office: Six years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is elected at the next regular biennial election.
g. Special: At the time of election or appointment, the candidate must have been admitted to practice law in the Oregon Supreme Court. [Art. V, VII, Ore. Const.; ORS 3.041]

16. District Court Judge

a. Age: None specified.
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
c. Residence:
    1) Must be a resident of or have principal office in the county in which district is located for one year and be a resident of Oregon three years prior to becoming candidate.
    2) In district of 500,000 or more, judge may reside within ten miles of boundary of county.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Six years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is elected at the next regular biennial election.
g. Special: At the time of election or appointment, the candidate must be a member of the Oregon State Bar. May not engage in the practice of law during tenure as District Court Judge. [Art. V, § 16, Ore. Const., ORS 46.610, 46.630]

17. Justice of the Peace

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the county.
c. Residence: "...for a period of not less than six months next preceding his election has been, and then is, a resident of the district wherein he is elected."
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Six years.
f. Vacancies: The Governor appoints a qualified person to hold office until a successor is elected at the next regular biennial election. [Art. VII, Ore. Const.; ORS ch. 51]

18. Metropolitan Service District Executive Officer

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the district.
c. Residence: Shall be a resident within the district represented for not less than one year before taking office.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: Filled by appointment by a majority of the district council.
g. Special: Shall not be an elected official of any other public body.

19. Metropolitan Service District Councilor

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector in the subdistrict.
c. Residence: Shall be a resident of the subdistrict from which elected for not less than one year before taking office.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: Filled by a majority of the remaining members of the council.
g. Special: Shall not be an elected official of any other public body.

20. County Judge/County Commissioner

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the county.
c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the county for one year immediately prior to election.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The county court or board of commissioners appoints a qualified person to serve until a successor can be elected at the next regular biennial election. The Governor appoints a qualified person to fill a vacancy if the position has judicial responsibilities. [Art. VIII, Ore. Const.; ORS ch. 204, 236.210]

21. County Sheriff

a. Age: 21
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the county.
c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the county for one year immediately prior to election.
d. Party Affiliation: Nonpartisan.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Qualifications: Person must be certified by the Board of Police Standards and Training within one year after taking office. Also must have at least four years' experience in law enforcement or at least two years' experience as a full-time law enforcement officer or at least two years' post-high school education.
g. Vacancies: The county court or board of commissioners appoints a qualified person to serve until a successor can be elected at the next regular biennial election.
h. Special: Proof of certification or eligibility for certification must be provided to filing officer before or at the time of filing. [Art. VI, VII, Ore. Const.; ORS ch. 204, 206.015, 236.210]

22. County Treasurer

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the county.
c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the county for one year immediately prior to election.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The county court or board of commissioners appoints a qualified person to serve until a successor can be elected at the next regular biennial election. [Art. VI, Ore. Const.; ORS ch. 204, 236.210]

23. County Clerk

a. Age: 18
b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the county.
c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the county for one year immediately prior to election.
d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
e. Term of Office: Four years.
f. Vacancies: The county clerk or board of commissioners appoints a qualified person to serve until a successor can be elected at the next regular biennial election. [Art. VI, VII, Ore. Const.; ORS ch. 204, 236.210]

24. County Assessor

    a. Age: 18
    b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the county.
    c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the county for one year immediately prior to election.
    d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
    e. Term of Office: Four years.
    f. Vacancies: The county clerk or board of commissioners appoints a qualified person to serve until a successor can be elected at the next regular biennial election.
    g. Special: Person not eligible to be candidate unless certified as appraiser or appraiser trainee under ORS 308.015. Must also have either two years of office and accounting experience, including experience in office management activities, or, two years of full-time employment in the office of a county assessor. Must be certified as eligible to be candidate by Department of Revenue. [Art. VI, Ore. Const., ORS 204.016, 236.210]

25. County Surveyor

    a. Age: 18
    b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen and an elector of the county.
    c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the county for one year immediately prior to election.
    d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
    e. Term of Office: Four years.
    f. Vacancies: The county court or board of commissioners appoints a qualified person to serve until a successor can be elected at the next regular biennial election.
    g. Special: County residence requirement does not apply in counties of less than 20,000 population. Person not eligible to be candidate unless registered under the laws of the state as a registered professional land surveyor. [Art. VI, Ore. Const.; ORS 204.016]

26. County Auditor

    a. Age: None specified.
    b. Citizenship: Must be a U.S. citizen.
    c. Residence: Must have been a resident of the county for one year immediately prior to election.
    d. Party Affiliation: Stated by candidate.
    e. Term of Office: Four years.
    f. Vacancies: The county clerk or board of commissioners appoints a qualified person to serve until a successor can be elected at the next regular biennial election. [Art. VI, Ore. Const.; ORS 236.210]
    g. Special: This officer is elected only in Multnomah and Washington counties.

27. Precinct Committeeperson

    a. Registered elector.
    b. A resident of the precinct in which candidate is running, or of a precinct within the same county adjoining the candidate's precinct of residence.
    c. A registered member of the major political party the candidate wishes to represent.
    d. Term of Office: The term of office runs from the 24th day after the date of the primary election until the 24th day after the date of the next following primary election.
    e. Vacancies: Will be filled in accordance with ORS 248.043.

B. Filing for Political Office

You may recall that Oregon has a direct nominating primary election. This means that only electors registered as Democrats or Republicans may vote for party candidates. Therefore, persons seeking nomination for election to a partisan office in the primary must be a member of a major political party for at least 180 days before filing for nomination. All candidates of minor parties and independent candidates may run only in the general election.

Most candidates must pay a filing fee or file a petition by collecting signatures in order to file for political office. A fee schedule for candidates is reprinted below. A more detailed description of the rules for filing petitions to run for political office follows.

B. Fee Schedule for Declaration of Candidacy

	Office	Fee
1.	President of the United States	N/A
2.	United States Senator	$150
3.	Representative in Congress	100
4.	State-at-large	100
5.	Circuit Court Judge	50
6.	District Court Judge	50
7.	Justice of the Peace	No fee
8.	District Attorney	50
9.	State Senator	25
10.	State Representative	25
11.	County Offices	50
12.	MSD Executive Officer	100
13.	MSD Councilor	25
14.	Precinct Committeeperson	No fee

President

Presidential candidates are placed on the official primary ballot in one of two ways:

1. The Secretary of State may direct that a candidate's name be placed on the ballot if the Secretary has determined that the person's candidacy is generally advocated or is recognized in the national new media; or

2. The candidate may file a nominating petition with the Secretary of State. (p. 1, Candidates and Political Parties Manual)

A nominating petition for President requires at least 1,000 signatures from each of Oregon's five Congressional districts. Signers must be members of the same political party as the candidate. The signatures must include at least 1/10 of the precincts in at least 1/4 of each of the counties in the Congressional districts.

Presidential candidates do not pay a filing fee in Oregon.

Major Political Party Candidates

To declare candidacy for public office in a primary election, you must either pay a fee or obtain signatures and file a petition. Signatures must be those of qualified electors from your political party.

Candidates for statewide office need at least 1,000 signatures or signatures equal to 2% of the number of votes cast in the state for President by members of the candidate's political party during the last general election (whichever is less).

Signatures must be from at least 1/10 of the precincts in each of at least 7 counties.

Candidates for U.S. Representative need at least 1,000 signatures or signatures equal to 2% of the number of votes cast in the congressional district for President by members of the candidate's political party during the last general election (whichever is less).

Signatures must be from atleast 1/10 of the precincts in at least 1/4 of the counties in the congressional district.

Candidates for county or district office need 500 signatures or signatures equal to 2% of the number of votes cast in the county or district for President by members of the candidate's political party during the last general election (whichever is less).

If the county or district office is wholly within one county, then signatures must be from at least 1/5 of the precincts in the district.

If the county or district office is in more than one county, then signatures must be from at least 1/8 of the precincts within 2 or more counties.

Minor Political Party Candidates and Independents

To declare candidacy in the general election, a minor political party candidate or independent candidate must do one of the following:

a. be nominated by a minor political party,
b. be nominated by an assembly of electors, or
c. be nominated by petition (individual signatures of electors).

Nomination by a minor political party

Forming a minor political party requires a petition process in each electoral district. Once a minority party is established, it may nominate a candidate for political office by filing a certificate of nomination before the legal deadline (approximately 2 months before the general election--the next date is August 28, 1990).

A minor party must go through the petition process in each electoral district before each general election, unless one of its candidates receives at least 1% of the entire vote for U.S. Representative in the electoral district.

Nomination by an assembly of electors

An assembly of electors may nominate candidates at a nominating convention.

State rules for conventions include:

- less than 12 hours long,
- a minimum number of electors: at least 1,000 for statewide nominations; at least 500 for U.S. Representative nominations; and at least 250 for county, precinct or other nominations,
- public notice of the convention or meeting, and
- a public record of those attending the meeting: names, signatures, and addresses.

Nominating assemblies must file a certificate of nomination before the legal deadline (approximately two months before the election --next date is August 28, 1990).

Nomination by petition of individual electors

Much like the initiative process, filing for office in this manner requires circulation of signature sheets which are then submitted for verification. The number of required signatures is:

- U.S. Representative and statewide offices elected "at-large": 3% of the number of votes cast in the candidate's electoral district for all candidates for President at the last general election;

- all other offices: 5% of the number of votes cast in the candidate's electoral district for all candidates for President at the last general election.

The legal deadline is approximately two months before the general election. (The next date is August 28, 1990.)

Nonpartisan Candidates

A nonpartisan office is defined as the office of judge, Superintendent of Public Instruction, district attorney, metropolitan service district officer, justice of the peace and some county and city offices. Two candidates shall be nominated at the primary election in each nonpartisan office. (p. 9, Candidates and Political Parties Manual)

A candidate does not need to belong to a major political party to run for nonpartisan office in the primary election. Furthermore, for nonpartisan offices, a majority vote in the primary election means that the winning candidate wins the election!

Nonpartisan candidates either pay a filing fee or file a petition and collect signatures. Signatures may be from qualified electors of any political party.

STATEWIDE office candidates need at least 1,000 signatures or the signatures of a number of electors equal to 2% of the votes cast in the state for the office of Judge of the Supreme Court that received the highest vote at the last election at which such judge was elected (whichever is less).

OTHER nonpartisan office candidates need at least 500 signatures or 2% of the votes cast in the electoral district for the office of Judge of the Supreme Court that received the highest vote in the last election at which such judge was elected (whichever is less).

C. Voters' Pamphlet Regulations

Candidates wishing to be included in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet must file material with the Secretary of State before the legal deadline. (The next general election deadline is August 28, 1990.) Read the article on the next page about the importance of meeting this deadline!

Filing fees and space requirements for the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet are reprinted below:

C. Voters' Pamphlet Filing Fees

Page means 29.8 square inches of Voters' Pamphlet space (or one column)

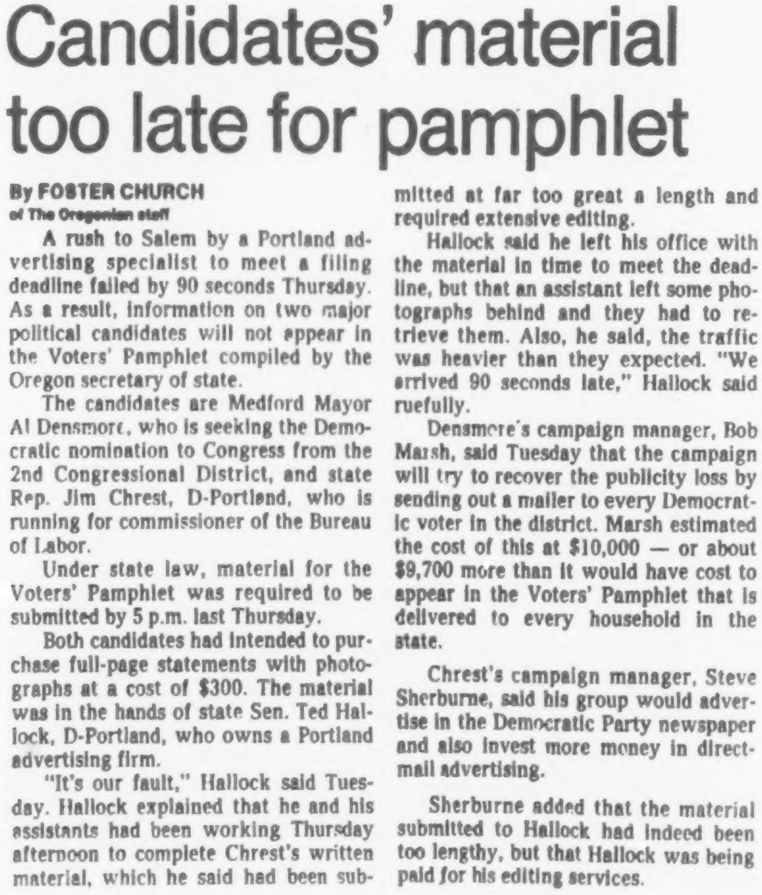
	Office	Voters' Pamphlet Fee
1.	United States President or Vice President	Two pages, $500
2.	United States Senator or Representative	Two pages, $500
3.	Statewide offices including Statewide Judicial Offices	Two pages, $300
4.	State Senator or Representative	One page, $100
5.	Circuit and District Court Judges	One page, $100
6.	District Attorney	One page, $100
7.	Multi-County office	One page, $100
8.	County office	One page, $100
9.	Mayor or City Councilman (cities with 59,000 or more population)	One page, $100
10.	MSD Offices	One page, $100

The word limitations within the spaces are as follows:

U.S. President, Vice President, U.S. Senator, U.S. Representative, or other statewide "at-large" office, including nonpartisan offices:	900 words 59.6 sq. in.
State Senator, State Representative, or any other statewide (including nonpartisan) office for which voter's pamphlet space may be purchased.	325 words 29.8 sq. in.

Being included in the Oregon Voters' Pamphlet assures a candidate that (s)he will reach every household in the State. To reach the same level of exposure through privately funded mailings would require a considerable expenditure of campaign funds.

Read the following article about how 90 seconds cost two candidates $9,700 in 1972.



Candidates' material too late for pamphlet

By FOSTER CHURCH
of The Oregonian staff

A rush to Salem by a Portland advertising specialist to meet a filing deadline failed by 90 seconds Thursday. As a result, information on two major political candidates will not appear in the Voters' Pamphlet compiled by the Oregon secretary of state.

The candidates are Medford Mayor Al Densmore, who is seeking the Democratic nomination to Congress from the 2nd Congressional District, and state Rep. Jim Chrest, D-Portland, who is running for commissioner of the Bureau of Labor.

Under state law, material for the Voters' Pamphlet was required to be submitted by 5 p.m. last Thursday.

Both candidates had intended to purchase full-page statements with photographs at a cost of $300. The material was in the hands of state Sen. Ted Hallock, D-Portland, who owns a Portland advertising firm.

"It's our fault," Hallock said Tuesday. Hallock explained that he and his assistants had been working Thursday afternoon to complete Chrest's written material, which he said had been submitted at far too great a length and required extensive editing.

Hallock said he left his office with the material in time to meet the deadline, but that an assistant left some photographs behind and they had to retrieve them. Also, he said, the traffic was heavier than they expected. "We arrived 90 seconds late," Hallock said ruefully.

Densmore's campaign manager, Bob Marsh, said Tuesday that the campaign will try to recover the publicity loss by sending out a mailer to every Democratic voter in the district. Marsh estimated the cost of this at $10,000 — or about $9,700 more than it would have cost to appear in the Voters' Pamphlet that is delivered to every household in the state.

Chrest's campaign manager, Steve Sherburne, said his group would advertise in the Democratic Party newspaper and also invest more money in direct-mail advertising.

Sherburne added that the material submitted to Hallock had indeed been too lengthy, but that Hallock was being paid for his editing services.

D. Other Rules and Regulations

There are also rules dealing with:

-deadlines for withdrawal of nomination,

-recount of votes (in any or all precincts),

-contest of election

See the Candidates and Political Parties Manual for more details about these areas.

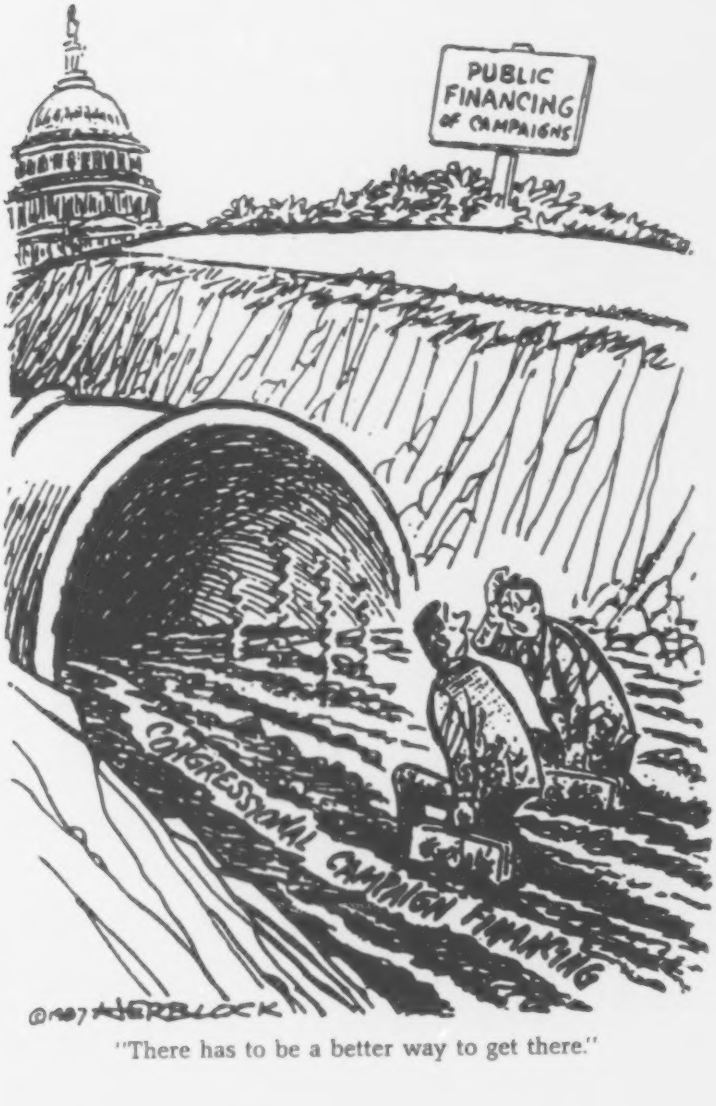
E. Contributions and Expenditures Reporting

All candidates must file statements of contributions received and expenditures made during a campaign. This requirement has been established to allow public record of special interest support for candidates and to promote honesty in campaigns and elections.

Here is a brief summary of some of the campaign finance regulations. Examples of forms and filing deadlines follow.

- Separate reports must be filed declaring whether a candidate spends less than $500 for the entire campaign, whether a candidate receives one contribution or loan for more than $500, or whether a candidate receives a total of more than $500 from one person or political committee.
- A final post-election report showing a zero balance is required. There can be no balance or deficit.
- Loan and interest payments must be reported.
- Services from volunteers (people who are not paid in any way) are not considered contributions.
- Certain "in-kind" contributions (things or services) must be reported.
- A schedule of filing deadlines is available from the Secretary of State.
- Federal candidates file reports with the Federal Elections Commission. Statewide candidates file reports with the Secretary of State. Other candidates for local office file with either the county clerk or the city election office.

SAMPLE FORMS: CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES REPORTING


PUBLIC FINANCING OF CAMPAIGNS
CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING
©1987 HERBLOCK

"There has to be a better way to get there."

-----from *Herblock At Large* (Pantheon 1987).

SED 230
Rev. 9/85

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE SIDE

☒ Original
☐ Amendment

OFFICE USE ONLY:
EXAMPLE 1
SAMPLE

1. Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
Candidate or Committee Name
Arthur Peyton
Treasurer
PO Box 2443
Number and Street
Oakmont, OR 97777
City and State Zip
(503) 711-6643 (503) 712-7707
Telephone Business Home

2. District 40
Office, District or Measure No.

3. ☒ Primary 19 88 ☐ General 19 ___ ☐ Other ___________ (Date)
4. ☒ 1st Pre-Election ☐ 2nd Pre-Election ☐ Post Election ☐ Supplemental
5. Date Prepared 4/11/88 / # of Pages: Part I 2 Part II 2 Part III 1

COMMITTEE FINANCIAL STATUS REPORT

	Column A TOTAL THIS PERIOD	Column B TOTALS TO DATE FOR THIS ELECTION
RECEIPTS		
6. BEGINNING CASH BALANCE (line 15 of previous summary) $ -0-		
7. CASH CONTRIBUTIONS (Other than loans received)	$ 5,036.65	$ 5,036.65
8. LOANS RECEIVED	$ 3,500.00	$ 3,500.00
9. IN-KIND (Same as #13)	$ 1,245.00	$ 1,245.00
10. **TOTAL RECEIPTS** (add lines 7, 8, 9)	$ 9,781.65	$ 9,781.65
DISBURSEMENTS		
11. EXPENDITURES (Other than loan payments)	$ 7,430.07	$ 7,430.07
12. LOAN PAYMENTS	$ 500.00	$ 500.00
13. IN-KIND (Same as #9)	$ 1,245.00	$ 1,245.00
14. **TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS** (add lines 11, 12, 13)	$ 9,175.07	$ 9,175.07
15. ENDING CASH BALANCE (line 6 plus line 10 minus line 14)	$ 606.58	
16. Accounts Receivable (at close of accounting period)		$ 200.00
17. Accounts Payable (at close of accounting period)		$ 720.00

LOAN RECAP

18. Outstanding loans (line 22 of previous summary)	$ -0-
19. Loans received this period (line 8 Column A)	$ 3,500.00
20. Total loans payable (line 18 plus line 19)	$ 3,500.00
21. Loans payments this period (line 12 Column A)	$ 500.00
22. Outstanding loans at end of period (line 20 minus line 21)	$ 3,000.00

FINANCIAL STATUS

23. FINANCIAL STATUS AT CLOSE OF ACCOUNTING PERIOD:
BALANCE / DEFICIT (Line 15 plus line 16 minus line 17 minus line 22. Indicate a plus or minus sign) $ -2,913.42

24. I (Political treasurer or candidate) hereby certify that the above statement, and the attached supporting schedules; (Part I, Part II, and/or Part III), are true and correct.

Signature Arthur Peyton Date 4-11-87

Rev 9/85

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS & EXPENDITURES

PART I: CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS RECEIVED

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON SUMMARY PAGE

☒ Original
☐ Amendment

EXAMPLE 2

1 Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, Dist. 40
Candidate or Committee Name

2 ☒ Primary 1988 ☐ General 19__ ☐ Other ____
4 ☒ 1st Pre ☐ 2nd Pre ☐ Post ☐ Supplemental

3 Date Prepared 4-11-88
5 Page 1 of 2 pages of PART I

6 Date	7 Name of Contributor/Lender/ Cosigner and Address	8 Occupation	9 Employer Name and Address	10 AMOUNTS A Cash Contributions	B Loans Received	C Cosigner Obligation
9/14/87	Lisa A. Carter 1511 SE River Road Oakmont, OR 97777	telephone operator	Oakmont Telephone Co. 710 Piedmont Street Oakmont, OR 97777	$ 150.00 Aggregate	$	$
11/21/87	Oregon Election Committee 500 NW 9th Portland, OR 97219	Political Action Comm.	N/A	100.00		
12/10/87	Conrad and Allison Moffitt 740 Fairview Lane Oakmont, OR 97777	Physicians self-empl.	N/A	525.00		
12/11/87	Pete Wilson 400 Orchard Road Tygh Valley, OR 97066	Farmer Self-empl.	Same	75.00		
12/14/87	Proceeds from Christmas Party Fundraiser of $50 and under	N/A	N/A	192.50		
1/28/88	Lucille MacDonald 633 Swinburn Avenue Oakmont, OR 97777	Personal	Loan from Candidate		1,000.00	
1/31/88	Alumni PAC 743 Rayburn Avenue Washington, D. C. 20021	Out of state PAC See affidavit attached	N/A	200.00		
2/15/88	2/14/88 Garage Sale Proceeds of $50 and under	N/A	N/A	637.15		

If amount received is more than $100 for statewide office or measure, or more than $50 for any other office or measure, contributor must be listed individually. OCCUPATION must be given, and if not self employed give business name and address of employer. Contributions from individuals or committees which do not exceed $50 or $100 may be added together and listed as one amount. AGGREGATE. Keep running totals of amounts received from each contributor so that aggregate amounts can be reported when they exceed $50 or $100. LOANS. List all loans made to the candidate or political committee. List the name and address of the lender. Also list the name and address of each person shown as cosigner or guarantor on a loan and the amount of obligation undertaken by each. Refer to instructions on Summary of Contributions and Expenditures (SED 230) and the Contributions and Expenditures Reporting and Campaign Finance Regulations Manual.

	A	B
11 CONTRIBUTIONS/ LOANS RECEIVED PAGE TOTALS	$ 1,879.65	$ 1,000.00
12 REPORTING PERIOD TOTALS (complete only if last page of PART I)	$ (Enter on Summary line 7, Column A)	$ (Enter on Summary line 8, Column A)

SED 231
Rev 9/85

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS & EXPENDITURES

PART I: CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS AND LOANS RECEIVED

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON SUMMARY PAGE

☒ Original
☐ Amendment

EXAMPLE 3

1 Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, Dist. 40
Candidate or Committee Name

2 ☒ Primary 19 88 ☐ General 19__ ☐ Other ____
4 ☒ 1st Pre ☐ 2nd Pre ☐ Post ☐ Supplemental

3 Date Prepared 4-11-88
5 Page 2 of 2 pages of PART I

6 Date	7 Name of Contributor/Lender/ Cosigner and Address	8 Occupation	9 Employer Name and Address	10 AMOUNTS A Cash Contributions	B Loans Received	C Cosigner Obligation
2/17/88	Conrad and Allison Moffitt 740 Fairview Lane Oakmont, OR 97777	Physicians Self-empl	N/A	$ 1,250.00 Aggregate 1,775.00	$	$
2/18/88	Oregon Election Committee 500 NW 9th Portland, OR 97219	Political Action Comm.	N/A	100.00 200.00		
2/1/88	Interest from Savings Acc't at Mid-Valley State Bank, Oakmont, OR			22.00		
2/10/88	Mid-Valley State Bank 1021 5th Street Oakmont, OR 97777	Loan			2,500.00	
3/12/88	Adam Henderson 98 Maple Lane Oakmont, OR 97777	Attorney	Henderson, Cash and Stills, PC 123 Main Street, Suite 214 Oakmont, OR 97777	650.00		
	Miscellaneous contributions of $50 and under, 9/10/87 - 4/7/88			1,135.00		

If amount received is more than $100 for statewide office or measure, or more than $50 for any other office or measure, contributor must be listed individually. OCCUPATION must be given, and if not self employed give business name and address of employer. Contributions from individuals or committees which do not exceed $50 or $100 may be added together and listed as one amount. AGGREGATE. Keep running totals of amounts received from each contributor so that aggregate amounts can be reported when they exceed $50 or $100. LOANS. List all loans made to the candidate or political committee. List the name and address of the lender. Also list the name and address of each person shown as cosigner or guarantor on a loan and the amount of obligation undertaken by each. Refer to instructions on Summary of Contributions and Expenditures (SED 230) and the Contributions and Expenditures Reporting and Campaign Finance Regulations Manual.

	A	B
11 CONTRIBUTIONS/ LOANS RECEIVED PAGE TOTALS	$ 3,157.00	$ 2,500.00
12 REPORTING PERIOD TOTALS (complete only if last page of PART I)	$ 5,036.65 (Enter on Summary line 7, Column A)	$ 3,500.00 (Enter on Summary line 8, Column A)

PART II: CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES AND LOAN PAYMENTS

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON SUMMARY PAGE

☐ Amendment

EXAMPLE 4

1 Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, Dist. 40
Candidate or Committee Name

2 ☒ Primary 19 88 ☐ General 19 __ ☐ Other ______

4 ☒ 1st Pre ☐ 2nd Pre ☐ Post ☐ Supplemental

3 Date Prepared 4/11/88

5 Page 1 of 2 pages of PART II

6 Date	7 Check No	8 Name of Payee and Address	9 Purpose	*10	11 AMOUNTS A Cash Expenditures	 B Loan Payments
9/15/87	1	Secretary of State Room 141, State Capitol Salem, OR 97310	Filing fee for candidacy		$ 25.00	$
9/16/87	2	Allied Printing Company 255 Commercial Parkway Oakmont, OR 97777	Printing of campaign flyers		120.00	
12/11/87	3	Ron Adams 135 Main Street Oakmont, OR 97777	Contracted services, payroll		250.00	
12/12/87	4	Lucille MacDonald 633 Swinburn Avenue Oakmont, OR 97777	Reimbursement of campaign travel expenses: gas mileage -42.00 (receipts attached) car rental -100.00		142.00	
1/14/88	5	Campaign Materials Co., Inc. 124 Elm Street, Suite 10-A Bend, OR 97701	Bumper Stickers, lawn signs, buttons		160.35	
2/22/88	6	Princeton and Carrothers 12991 E. Waterfront Avenue Seattle, WA 98111	Media buys, see attached invoice		6,005.22	
3/3/88	7	Lucille MacDonald 633 Swinburn Avenue Oakmont, OR 97777	Loan repayment			500.00
3/8/88	Cash	Secretary of State Room 141, State Capitol Salem, OR 97310	Voters' Pamphlet statement		100.00	

* If payment has been made to a creditor that has been listed previously as an accounts payable, show name and address and purpose of transaction, place a check in #10 and list dollar amount under expense.

Each expenditure in an amount of more than $50 shall be vouched for by a receipt or cancelled check or an accurate copy of the receipt or check. The documentation shall be enclosed with your statement. However, if you do not have all checks returned from the bank, please enclose a note with your statement and send them immediately upon being available. Refer to instructions on Summary of Contributions and Expenditures (SED 230) and the Contributions and Expenditures Reporting and Campaign Finance Regulations Manual.

	A	B
12 EXPENDITURES/LOAN PAYMENTS PAGE TOTALS	$ 6,802.57	$ 500.00
13 REPORTING PERIOD TOTALS (complete only if last page of PART II)	$ (Enter on Summary line 11, Column A)	$ (Enter on Summary line 12, Column A)

SED 232
Rev. 8/86

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS & EXPENDITURES

PART II: CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES AND LOAN PAYMENTS

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON SUMMARY PAGE

☒ Original
☐ Amendment

EXAMPLE 5

1 Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, Dist, 40
Candidate or Committee Name

2 ☒ Primary 19 88 ☐ General 19 __ ☐ Other ______

4 ☒ 1st Pre ☐ 2nd Pre ☐ Post ☐ Supplemental

3 Date Prepared 4/11/88

5 Page 2 of 2 pages of PART II

6 Date	7 Check No	8 Name of Payee and Address	9 Purpose	*10	11 AMOUNTS A Cash Expenditures	 B Loan Payments
3/14/88	8	Perkins for State Rep. Committee 956 Overton Blvd. Bend, OR 97701	Political donation		$ 100.00	$
3/15/88	9	Allied Printing Company 255 Commercial Parkway Oakmont, OR 97777	Printing of 500 campaign cards		105.00	
3/19/88	10	U. S. Postmaster	Precancelled stamps for bulk mailing		147.50	
3/19/88		Bank Service Charge - Mid-Valley State Bank			15.00	
3/20/88	11	Lucille MacDonald 633 Swinburn Avenue Oakmont, OR 97777	Reimbursement for voters' pamphlet fee		100.00	
3/25/88	12	Oregon Victory Plan Conference PO Box 3746 Portland, OR 97222	Donation and conference registration		75.00	
4/5/88	13	Just for Fun Catering 999 Oxford Street Oakmont, OR 97777	Sandwiches and drinks for campaign volunteers		85.00	

* If payment has been made to a creditor that has been listed previously as an accounts payable, show name and address and purpose of transaction, place a check in #10 and list dollar amount under expense.

Each expenditure in an amount of more than $50 shall be vouched for by a receipt or cancelled check or an accurate copy of the receipt or check. The documentation shall be enclosed with your statement. However, if you do not have all checks returned from the bank, please enclose a note with your statement and send them immediately upon being available. Refer to instructions on Summary of Contributions and Expenditures (SED 230) and the Contributions and Expenditures Reporting and Campaign Finance Regulations Manual.

	A	B
12 EXPENDITURES/LOAN PAYMENTS PAGE TOTALS	$ 627.50	$ -0-
13 REPORTING PERIOD TOTALS (complete only if last page of PART II)	$ 7,430.07 (Enter on Summary line 11, Column A)	$ 500.00 (Enter on Summary line 12, Column A)

SED 231
Rev 9/85

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS & EXPENDITURES

PART III: IN-KIND, ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE AND ACCOUNTS PAYABLE

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON SUMMARY PAGE

☒ Original
☐ Amendment

EXAMPLE 6

1 Candidate or Committee Name: Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, Dist. 40

2 ☒ Primary 19 88 ☐ General 19 __ ☐ Other ____

3 Date Prepared 4/11/88

4 ☒ 1st Pre ☐ 2nd Pre ☐ Post ☐ Supplemental

5 Page 1 of 1 pages of PART III

6 Date	7 Name and Address	8 Purpose	9 IN - KIND Information: A Occupation	9 IN - KIND Information: B Employers Name and Address	10 AMOUNTS: A In-Kind	10 AMOUNTS: B Accts Rec	10 AMOUNTS: C Accts Payable
12/13/87	Just for Fun Catering 999 Oxford Street Oakmont, OR 97777	food for Xmas fundraiser	N/A	N/A	$ 200.00	$	$
12/13/87	Sue Jones Kingwood Village, Apt. 2A Oakmont, OR 97777	supplies for fund-raiser	Legal Secretary	Johnson and Andrews A Legal Corporation 200 "E" St, Oakmont, OR	230.00		
2/1/88	Second Time Around Shop 444 Main Street Oakmont, OR 97777	items for garage sale	N/A	N/A	315.00		
2/15/88	Don Potter Real Estate 2410 S. Hawthorne Street Oakmont, OR 97777	office space	Real estate self-empl.		500.00		
2/22/88	Oakmont Medical Ass'n Oakmont Professional Bldg. Oakmont, OR 97777	promised contrib.	N/A	N/A		200.00	
3/13/88	Mid-Valley Phone Company 727 West 9th Street Oakmont, OR 97777	phone bill	N/A	N/A			135.00
4/1/88	Rogers Office Equipment Co. 9170 Industrial Way Oakmont, OR 97777	office furniture & equip.	N/A	N/A			585.00
				11 IN - KIND/ ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE/ ACCOUNTS PAYABLE PAGE TOTALS	$ 1,245	$ 200.00	$ 720.00
				12 REPORTING PERIOD TOTALS (complete only if last page of PART III)	$ 1,245 (Enter on Summary lines 6 & 13 Column A)	$ 200.00 (Enter on Summary line 16)	$ 720.00 (Enter on Summary line 17)

IN - KIND: Any non-cash thing of value paid for or on behalf of, or contributed to a candidate or political committee by a person. List name, address and occupation of contributor and purpose. ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE: Are unfulfilled pledges, subscriptions, agreements or promises of contributions. List name and address of person making pledge or promise. List all accounts still not received, even if reported previously. ACCOUNTS PAYABLE: List the date goods or services were furnished. List name and address of creditor and purpose. List all accounts payable still unpaid, even if reported previously. When payment is made to creditor, list on PART II as an expenditure, checking Box #10. Refer to instructions on Summary of Contributions and Expenditures (SED 230) and the Contributions and Expenditures Reporting and Campaign Finance Regulations Manual.

A F F I D A V I T

OUT-OF-STATE POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

NAME: Alumni Political Action Committee

ADDRESS: 743 Rayburn Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20021

PRIMARY NATURE: PAC

I am the treasurer of the Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40 Committee. I hereby certify to the best of my knowledge and belief, the above-mentioned political committee did not make contributions to candidates and treasurers in this state that exceed two-thirds, in total amount, of all contributions made by it in this state and elsewhere during the period.

September 10, 1987 through April 7, 1988

Arthur Peyton
Arthur Peyton, Treasurer
Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40

State of: Oregon
County of: Deschutes
Signed or attested before me on ____ (date) by ____

My commission expires: 11/17/89

EXAMPLE 7

EXAMPLE 8

PRINCETON AND CARROTHERS

Communications/Government Relations/Management

A STATEMENT

February 22, 1988

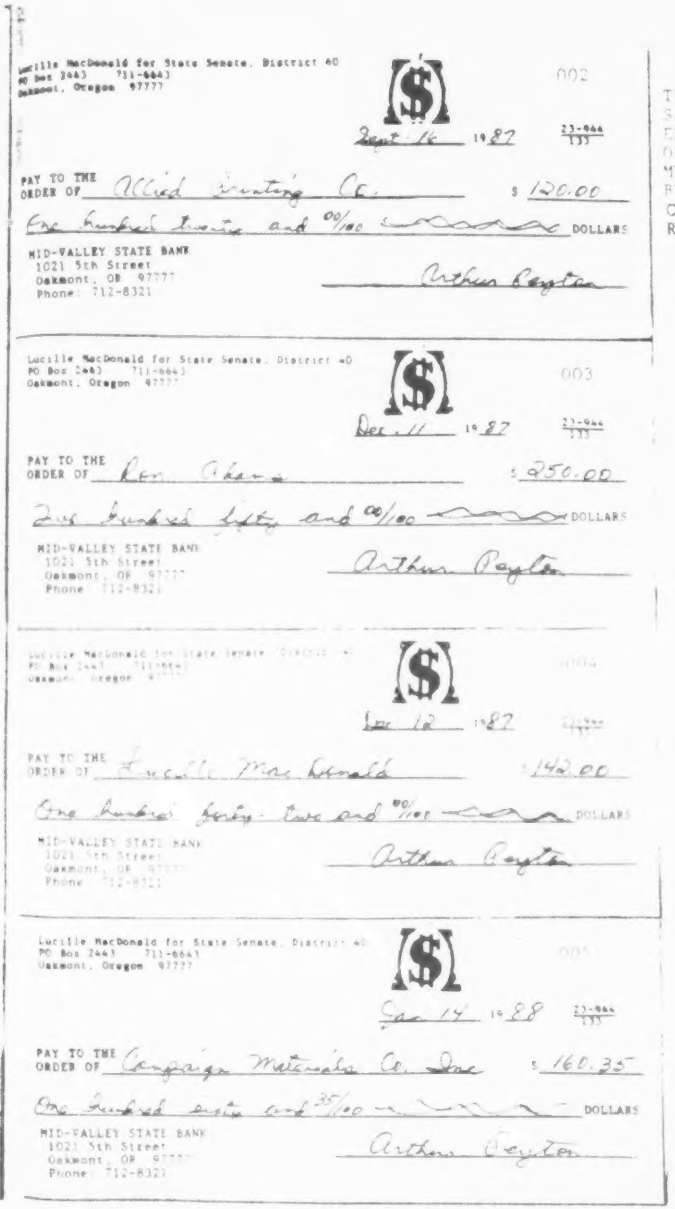
Mr. Arthur Peyton, Treasurer
Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
PO Box 2443
Oakmont, OR 97777

Newspaper Space:	
Oakmont News and Journal (10) 3 col-9" ads to run Mar. 1 - 4	$4,792.50
Bend Bulletin (6) 3 col-9" ads to run Mar 3 & 4	1,062.72
Radio Spots:	
KMBY - 30 sec. spot	150.00
	$6,005.22

12991 East Waterfront Avenue, Seattle, WA 98111 tel: (206) 555-9914

EXAMPLE 9

THIS IS JUST A SAMPLE. ALL EXPENDITURES OVER $50.00 MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY A COPY OF A CANCELLED CHECK OR COPY OF A RECEIPT.



Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
PO Box 2443 711-6643
Oakmont, Oregon 97777

002

Sept. 16 19 87

23-944/133

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Allied Printing Co. $ 120.00

One hundred twenty and 00/100 DOLLARS

MID-VALLEY STATE BANK
1021 5th Street
Oakmont, OR 97777
Phone: 712-8321

Arthur Peyton

Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
PO Box 2443 711-6643
Oakmont, Oregon 97777

003

Dec. 11 19 87

23-944/133

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Ron Okano $ 250.00

Two hundred fifty and 00/100 DOLLARS

MID-VALLEY STATE BANK
1021 5th Street
Oakmont, OR 97777
Phone: 712-8321

Arthur Peyton

Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
PO Box 2443 711-6643
Oakmont, Oregon 97777

004

Dec 12 19 87

23-944/133

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Lucille MacDonald $ 142.00

One hundred forty-two and 00/100 DOLLARS

MID-VALLEY STATE BANK
1021 5th Street
Oakmont, OR 97777
Phone: 712-8321

Arthur Peyton

Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
PO Box 2443 711-6643
Oakmont, Oregon 97777

005

Jan 14 19 88

23-944/133

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Campaign Materials Co. Inc $ 160.35

One hundred sixty and 35/100 DOLLARS

MID-VALLEY STATE BANK
1021 5th Street
Oakmont, OR 97777
Phone: 712-8321

Arthur Peyton

SED 230
Rev. 9/85

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE SIDE

☒ Original
☐ Amendment

OFFICE USE ONLY:
EXAMPLE 10
SAMPLE

1. Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
Candidate or Committee Name
Arthur Peyton
Treasurer
PO Box 2443
Number and Street
Oakmont, OR 97777
City and State · Zip
(503) 711-6643 (503) 712-7707
Telephone Business Home

2 District 40
Office, District or Measure No.

3 ☒ Primary 19 88 ☐ General 19 __ ☐ Other ______ (Date)

4 ☐ 1st Pre Election ☒ 2nd Pre Election ☐ Post Election ☐ Supplemental

5 Date Prepared 5/10/88 / # of Pages Part I 2 Part II 1 Part III 1

COMMITTEE FINANCIAL STATUS REPORT

		Column A TOTAL THIS PERIOD	Column B TOTALS TO DATE FOR THIS ELECTION
RECEIPTS			
6	BEGINNING CASH BALANCE (line 15 of previous summary) $ 606.58		
7	CASH CONTRIBUTIONS (Other than loans received)	$ 2,425.26	$ 7,461.91
8	LOANS RECEIVED	$ -0-	$ 3,500.00
9	IN-KIND (Same as #13)	$ 862.00	$ 2,107.00
10	**TOTAL RECEIPTS** (add lines 7, 8, 9)	$ 3,287.26	$ 13,068.91
DISBURSEMENTS			
11	EXPENDITURES (Other than loan payments)	$ 1,189.62	$ 8,619.69
12	LOAN PAYMENTS	$ 1,000.00	$ 1,500.00
13	IN-KIND (Same as #9)	$ 862.00	$ 2,107.00
14	**TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS** (add lines 11, 12, 13)	$ 3,051.62	$ 12,226.69
15	ENDING CASH BALANCE (line 6 plus line 10 minus line 14)	$ 842.22	
16	Accounts Receivable (at close of accounting period)		$ -0-
17	Accounts Payable (at close of accounting period)		$ 585.00
	LOAN RECAP		
18	Outstanding loans (line 22 of previous summary)		$ 3,000.00
19	Loans received this period (line 8 Column A)		$ -0-
20	Total loans payable (line 18 plus line 19)		$ 3,000.00
21	Loans payments this period (line 12 Column A)		$ 1,000.00
22	Outstanding loans at end of period (line 20 minus line 21)		$ 2,000.00
	FINANCIAL STATUS		
23	FINANCIAL STATUS AT CLOSE OF ACCOUNTING PERIOD BALANCE / DEFICIT (Line 15 plus line 16 minus line 17 minus line 22 Indicate a plus or minus sign)		$ -1,742.78

24 I (Political treasurer or candidate) hereby certify that the above statement, and the attached supporting schedules, (Part I, Part II, and/or Part III), are true and correct

Signature Arthur Peyton Date 5-10 88

EXAMPLE 11

LUCILLE MACDONALD FOR STATE SENATE, DISTRICT 40
COMMITTEE
PO Box 2443
Oakmont, OR 97777

May 13, 1988

Secretary of State
Elections Division
Room 141, State Capitol
Salem, OR 97310

Dear Madam Secretary:

This special pre-election report is to advise you that this committee has received an additional contribution of $635.00 from Families Against Government Waste PAC, subsequent to the end of the second pre-election period.

Very truly yours,

Arthur Peyton

Arthur Peyton
Treasurer

NOTE. THIS CONTRIBUTION WILL SHOW UP ON THE POST ELECTION REPORT.

SED 230
Rev. 9/85

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

REFER TO INSTRUCTIONS ON REVERSE SIDE

☒ Original
☐ Amendment

EXAMPLE 12
SAMPLE

1. Lucille MacDonald for State Senate, District 40
Candidate or Committee Name

Arthur Peyton
Treasurer

PO Box 2443
Number and Street

Oakmont, OR 97777
City and State Zip

(503) 711-6643 (503) 712-7707
Telephone: Business Home

2. District 40
Office, District or Measure No.

3. ☒ Primary 19 88 ☐ General 19 __ ☐ Other ______ (Date)

4. ☐ 1st Pre-Election ☐ 2nd Pre-Election ☒ Post Election ☐ Supplemental

5. Date Prepared 6/7/88 / # of Pages: Part I 1 Part II 2 Part III 1

COMMITTEE FINANCIAL STATUS REPORT

	Column A TOTAL THIS PERIOD	Column B TOTALS TO DATE FOR THIS ELECTION
RECEIPTS		
6. BEGINNING CASH BALANCE (line 15 of previous summary) $ 842.22		
7. CASH CONTRIBUTIONS (Other than loans received)	$ 1,980.69	$ 9,442.60
8. LOANS RECEIVED	$ -0-	$ 3,500.00
9. IN - KIND (Same as #13)	$ 767.13	$ 2,874.13
10. **TOTAL RECEIPTS** (add lines 7, 8, 9)	$ 2,747.82	$ 15,816.73
DISBURSEMENTS		
11. EXPENDITURES (Other than loan payments)	$ 643.12	$ 9,262.81
12. LOAN PAYMENTS	$ 1,500.00	$ 3,000.00
13. IN - KIND (Same as #9)	$ 767.13	$ 2,874.13
14. **TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS** (add lines 11, 12, 13)	$ 2,910.25	$ 15,136.94
15. ENDING CASH BALANCE (line 6 plus line 10 minus line 14)	$ 679.79	

16. Accounts Receivable (at close of accounting period) $ -0-
17. Accounts Payable (at close of accounting period) $ 585.00

LOAN RECAP

18. Outstanding loans (line 22 of previous summary) $2,000.00
19. Loans received this period (line 8 Column A) $ -0-
20. Total loans payable (line 18 plus line 19) $2,000.00
21. Loans payments this period (line 12 Column A) $1,500.00
22. Outstanding loans at end of period (line 20 minus line 21) $ 500.00

FINANCIAL STATUS

23. FINANCIAL STATUS AT CLOSE OF ACCOUNTING PERIOD:
BALANCE / DEFICIT (Line 15 plus line 16 minus line 17 minus line 22. Indicate a plus or minus sign) $ -405.21

24. I (Political treasurer or candidate) hereby certify that the above statement, and the attached supporting schedules; (Part I, Part II, and/or Part III), are true and correct.

Signature Arthur Peyton Date 6-7-88

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY - Political Campaigns and Election Law

1. For which political offices are 18-year-olds qualified to run?

2. Are there any political offices which do not require U.S. citizenship?

3. Which political offices are nonpartisan?

4. Which offices have the longest terms? the shortest terms?

5. What is the meaning of "direct" nominating primary elections?

6. For which offices may minority party candidates and independent candidates run in the primary election? in the general election?

7. Which is easier: paying the filing fee or collecting signatures on a petition? Do you believe the filing fees are reasonable? Why or why not?

8. What are the requirements for forming a minority political party? Do you find these requirements too strict? or do you think our government benefits from two dominant political parties? Explain.

9. Why are reports concerning campaign contributions and expenditures now required? Do you think these reports are important to the integrity of the election process?

L. LESSON XI - POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IN ACTION

Components of a Winning Campaign

Class Political Campaign Simulation

Sample Forms: Campaign Simulation

Objective #9: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

know that running for political office requires a number of tasks by listing three things which must be accomplished by a successful candidate.

COMPONENTS OF A WINNING CAMPAIGN

What does it take to run for political office? Beyond the legal hurdles of filing and reporting, there are a number of difficult tasks which must be accomplished to be a successful politician.

1. Political Interest: Candidates must really want to run for office and be interested in the political process.

2. Political Decision: Interest and desire must be translated into action. Candidates ultimately must decide to run for office. One author asserts that a candidate must be able to answer "yes" to all of the following questions before running for office:

   - Are you physically, emotionally, and mentally prepared for the rigors of the campaign trail and the demands of elective office?

   - Have you provided for the care of family members during your campaign and potential term in office?

   - Do you have the approval and cooperation of your family?

   - Are you able to support yourself financially during the campaign and through a term in office?

   - Are you reasonably confident that you can raise sufficient funds for the campaign?

   - Do you clearly understand the problems facing your district and the needs and hopes of your potential constituents?

   - Can you articulate simply your reasons for seeking elective office?

   - Do you have sufficient "credentials" to assure credibility as a candidate?

   - Have you assessed the timing of your run for office and determined that this is the right year?

   - Can you cope with losing your bid for office?

   (B. Trafton, p. 16)

3. Political Research: A good candidate must do his or her homework! Learn everything you can about the town or district you will be representing. Visit the Secretary of State's office to learn the rules about elections. Visit the county clerk's office or city hall for voter registration cards and absentee ballot information. Get a list of registered voters, a list of polling places, maps, and other demographic information. Use the library. Contact political parties and other political organizations.

4. Develop a campaign strategy: Start early! And follow these four fundamental principles:

    a. Know your message.
    b. Know the issues.
    c. Know the voters.
    d. Know the limits of your resources.

5. Raise money. Campaigns are expensive. One study estimates that between 1952 and 1980, total campaign spending increased by 759% while general prices rose only 210%. PACs (political action committees) are a major source of campaign funds. Organize fund-raisers. Solicit gifts through personal visits, letters, and telephone contacts.

6. Organize a grass-roots campaign: Here is one candidate's winning formula.

    a. a large, completely volunteer staff.
    b. a full-time manager in charge of campaign organization.
    c, careful planning and scheduling.
    d. direct solicitation of funds by the candidate.
    e. carefully designed and well-written printed materials.
    f. repeated contact with targeted voters.

(B. Trafton, p. 99)

7. Get out the vote: Contact supporters by phone, ads, signs or in person and get them to the polls. Make sure all your supporters are registered to vote!

8. Say "Thank You:" Remember to show appreciation to your volunteers and supporters during and after the election.

CLASS POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SIMULATION

Conduct a political campaign in your class. Have class members assume the roles of:

- candidates
- campaign volunteers
- election officials
- voters.

CANDIDATES learn about the duties of the different political offices, learn the qualifications for political offices, file for candidacy, solicit voter support, solicit campaign "funds," and file contribution and expenditure reports.

VOLUNTEERS register voters, contact supporters, help raise funds, help the candidate's message reach the voters.

ELECTION OFFICIALS check qualifications, check candidate filing forms, check campaign funding reports, put together a voters' pamphlet.

VOTERS register to vote, contribute to campaigns, listen to the candidates to learn about the candidates' positions on issues and the candidates' qualifications.

This activity should be ongoing, over a period of several days to a week. The amount of class time allotted to students after the initial organization of the activity is at the discretion of the teacher!

Sample forms can be found on the following pages.

SED Form No. 101
Rev. Dec. 87

FILING OF CANDIDACY FOR

☐ PARTY NOMINATION or
☐ PROSPECTIVE PETITION

By the
☐ Democratic Party
☐ Republican Party

Filing for (office and position number): (ORS 249 031)

Name of Candidate (PRINT): (ORS 249 031)

My name should appear on the official ballot as follows (PRINT):

Residence Mailing Address of Candidate

Street or Route No (ORS 249 031)

City

Zip

Telephone No

Bus

Res

Signature of Candidate (ORS 249 031)

To: ☐ The Secretary of State of Oregon

☐ The County Clerk of .... County

By signing this document, I thereby state:

THAT I shall accept the nomination for the office indicated above;

THAT I shall qualify for said office if elected;

THAT, if not nominated, I shall not accept the nomination or endorsement of any political party other than the one named above;

and

THAT I have been a member of said political party for at least 180 days.

(ORS 249 031)

I attach hereto:

☐ The required filing fee. (ORS 249 031) OR

☐ The required signature sheets, properly certified by the County Clerk. (ORS 249 020)

Date

To be used for partisan nominations only. Nonpartisan candidates use SED Form 102. Candidates for election to party office use SED Form 103. Candidates for special district offices use SED Form 107.

CANDIDATE FILING FEES

(ORS 249 056)

By Petition	No Fee
By Declaration:	
United States Senator	$150
United States Representative	100
Statewide Offices	100
State Senator or Representative	25
County Offices	50

VOTERS' PAMPHLET FILING FEES

(ORS 251 095)

"Page" means 29.8 square inches of space

United States President	two pages	$500.00
United States Vice President*	two pages	$500.00
United States Senator	two pages	$500.00
United States Representative	two pages	$500.00
Statewide Offices	two pages	$300.00
State Senator or Representative	one page	$100.00
County Offices	one page	$100.00

* Applies to General Election only

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

Initials ______________

Office # ______________

Receipt # ______________

Check # ______________

Candidate # ______________

WARNING

No person shall file a nominating petition or declaration of candidacy for more than one lucrative office before the date of the primary election unless the person first files a written withdrawal with the officer who accepted the initial filing. (ORS 249 160)

Petition for Nomination
SIGNATURE SHEET

Sample Form
PARTISAN

Name of Candidate
Democrat ☐ Republican ☐

Address of Candidate
Street or Route No. City Zip Code

Office Petitioned for
Date

To (Secretary of State or County Clerk) We the undersigned electors of Oregon request that the candidate's name printed above be placed upon the appropriate ballot at the Primary Election next following the filing of this petition for nomination to the office indicated. We are members of the same political party as is the candidate.

Print Name	Date Signed Month Day Year	Signature	Residence Address Street and Number	City or Post Office	Precinct (If Known)
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					

I hereby certify that ______ signatures on this petition are those of electors ______ County (ORS 249.064).

______
County Clerk or Deputy

Date ______ 19__

SAMPLE FORM

SED Form No.
102
Rev. Dec. 87

FILING OF CANDIDACY FOR
NONPARTISAN NOMINATION ☐
or PROSPECTIVE PETITION ☐

Filing for (office and position number) (ORS 249.031)

To: ☐ The Secretary of State of Oregon
☐ The County Clerk of .... County
☐ The City Recorder (Auditor), City of ....

By signing this document, I thereby state that if I am nominated and elected, I shall accept and qualify for the office indicated above.

I reside in .... County

(ORS 249.031)

I attach hereto:
☐ The required filing fee. (ORS 249.031) OR
☐ The required signature sheets, properly certified by the County Clerk (ORS 249.020)

Date

FOR CANDIDATES FILING FOR OFFICE OF JUDGE OR JUSTICE OF THE PEACE:
☐ INCUMBENT (Check this box ONLY if you currently hold the office specified above.)

Name of Candidate (PRINT) (ORS 249.031)

My name should appear on the official ballot as follows (PRINT)

Residence Mailing Address of Candidate

Street or Route No. (ORS 249.031)

City

Zip

Telephone No.
Bus
Res

Signature (ORS 249.031)

To be used for nonpartisan nominations only. Candidates for political party office use SED Form 103. Candidates for partisan public office use SED Form 101. Candidates for special district offices use SED Form 107.

CANDIDATE FILING FEES
(ORS 249.056)

By Petition	No Fee
By Declaration:	
Statewide Offices	$100
Circuit Court Judge	$ 50
District Court Judge	$ 50
District Attorney	$ 50
MSD Executive Officer	$100
MSD Councilor	$ 25
County Office	$ 50
City Office	Fees set by charter or ordinance
Justice of the Peace	No Fee

VOTERS' PAMPHLET FILING FEES
(ORS 251.095)

"Page" means 29.8 square inches of space

Statewide Offices	two pages	$300.00
Circuit Court Judge	one page	$100.00
District Court Judge	one page	$100.00
District Attorney	one page	$100.00
MSD Executive Officer	one page	$100.00
MSD Councilor	one page	$100.00
County Office	one page	$100.00
City Office (Portland, Salem, Eugene only)	one page	$100.00

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

INITIALS ______________
OFFICE # ______________
RECEIPT # ______________
CHECK # ______________

CANDIDATE # ______________

296

WARNING
No person shall file a nominating petition or declaration of candidacy for more than one lucrative office before the date of the primary election unless the person first files a written withdrawal with the officer who accepted the initial filing. (ORS 249.160)

Name of Candidate Nonpartisan ☐ Independent ☐

Address of Candidate
Street or Route No City Zip Code

Office Petitioned for Date

Petition for Nomination
SIGNATURE SHEET

Sample Form
NONPARTISAN, OR
INDEPENDENT

To (Secretary of State or County Clerk) We the undersigned electors of Oregon request that the candidate's name printed above be placed upon the ballot at the ______ Election next following the filing of this petition for nomination to the to the office indicated (ORS 249.072)
(Primary or General)

Print Name	Date Signed Month Day Year	Signature	Residence Address Street and Number	City or Post Office	Precinct (If Known)
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					
16.					
17.					
18.					
19.					
20.					

I hereby certify that ______ signatures on this petition are those of electors ______
County Clerk or Deputy

Date ______ 19____ ______ County (ORS 249.064)

SAMPLE FORM

SED Form No. 103 Rev. Oct. '85	FILING OF CANDIDACY FOR ☐ PRECINCT COMMITTEEMAN ☐ PRECINCT COMMITTEEWOMAN	For the ☐ Democratic Party ☐ Republican Party	PRECINCT

Name of Candidate (PRINT): (ORS 249 031)	Residence Mailing Address of Candidate Street or Route No (ORS 249 031) City Zip
To: ☐ The County Clerk of .... County By signing this document, I thereby state: THAT, if elected, I shall accept and qualify for the office of Precinct Committeeperson of the political party indicated above; and THAT I have been a member of said political party for at least 180 days. (ORS 249 031)	If it is required by the national rules of the party, indicate in this space the name of the individual you support for U.S. President, OR enter "Uncommitted" or "No preference." (ORS 249 031)

To be used for election to party office only. Candidates for partisan public office use SED Form 101. Candidates for nonpartisan office use SED Form 102. Candidates for special district offices use SED Form 107.	Date	Signature of Candidate (ORS 249 031)

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

SED Form No
104
Rev. Jan. 88

FILING OF CANDIDACY BY CERTIFICATE OF NOMINATION

By ☐ Minor Political Party
☐ Assembly of Electors
☐ Individual Electors

Filing for (office and position no.): (ORS 249.720)

Name of Candidate:
(ORS 249.720)

My name should appear on the official ballot as follows (PRINT)

Residence Address of Candidate

Street or Route No (ORS 249.720)

City

Zip Code No

(ORS 249.712) I accept the nomination described by this certificate
Signature of candidate

Name of person submitting this certificate of nomination

Address

INSTRUCTIONS

There are three ways for groups other than major political parties to nominate candidates for partisan offices: (1) By nominating convention held by a minor political party; (2) By an assembly of electors; (3) By individual electors. The names of candidates so nominated will be included on the general election ballot. Fill out only the space below that applies to the method by which the candidate named in this certificate was nominated. The candidate must sign the acceptance space OR file a letter or telegram of acceptance with the filing officer.

1 ☐ MINOR POLITICAL PARTY
(ORS 249.705)

Name of Party (ORS 249.720)

We swear (or affirm) that the statements on this certificate are true

Signature of presiding officer of nominating convention (ORS 249.720)

Party of registration

Signature of secretary of nominating convention (ORS 249.720)

Party of registration

Subscribed and sworn to before me

Notary Public

Commission Expires

Dated

2 ☐ ASSEMBLY OF ELECTORS
(ORS 249.705)

We swear (or affirm) that the statements on this certificate are true, and that not less than 1000 electors of the state, or not less than 500 electors of the congressional district, or not less than 250 electors of the county or any other district for which the nomination is made were present when nomination was made at a nominating convention held in one day and lasting not more than 12 hours. The candidate named on this certificate received the highest number of votes of the assembly for the office indicated and is the nominee of the assembly. Proof of publication of notice of assembly of electors and the minutes of the assembly are attached, as required.
(ORS 249.735)

Signature of presiding officer of assembly of electors (ORS 249.720)

Signature of secretary of assembly of electors (ORS 249.720)

Subscribed and sworn to before me

Notary Public

Dated

Commission Expires

☐ Check if nominated for partisan office by assembly of electors.
I am not, and have not been, affiliated with a major or minor political party for at least 180 days prior to filing this certificate. (ORS 249.720)

3 ☐ INDIVIDUAL ELECTORS
(ORS 249.705)

Signature sheets containing the necessary number of signatures of electors requesting the nomination of the person named on this certificate are attached. (ORS 249.740)

☐ Check if nominated for partisan office by individual electors.
I am not, and have not been affiliated with a major or minor political party for at least 180 days prior to filing this certificate. (ORS 249.720)

VOTERS' PAMPHLET FILING FEES
(ORS 251.095)

"Page" means 29.8 square inches of space

United States President	two pages	$500	Statewide Offices	two pages	$300
United States Vice President	two pages	$500	State Senator or Representative	one page	$100
United States Senator	two pages	$500	County Offices	one page	$100
United States Representative	two pages	$500			

SIGNATURE SHEET SAMPLE

PETITION FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW POLITICAL PARTY

To the Secretary of State of Oregon

We, the undersigned electors, request that the political party named below be established in the State of Oregon. We have not previously signed a petition sheet for this purpose. (ORS 249.732)

Name of party ______________________________

Print Name	Date Signed Month Day Year	Signature	Residence Address Street and Number	City or Post Office	Precinct (If Known)
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					
16.					
17.					
18.					
19.					
20.					

I hereby certify that ________ signatures on this petition are those of electors ______________________

County Clerk or Deputy

Date ________ 19 ____ ________ County (ORS 249.732)

SED Form
No. 122
October 85

WITHDRAWAL OF CANDIDACY OR NOMINATION

To the Secretary of State:

I, ______________________ (Print Name of Candidate), hereby submit this notice of withdrawal from my ☐ Candida[illegible]or Nomination ☐ Nom[illegible]on

by the ______________ (Party) Party to the office of ______________________ (Office Title), ______________________ ([illegible]osition No., Zone, or District).

My reason for this withdrawal is as follows:

Dated on this ________ day of ________________, 19 ____.

____
Signature of Candidate

Subscribed and sworn to before me:

____
(Judge, Justice of Peace, County Clerk or Notary Public)

My Commission Expires: ________________

[illegible]TE—A candidate who desires to withdraw must do so not later than the sixty-seventh day prior to the date of the [illegible]imary or general election. ORS 249.170, 249.180.

Receipt # ______________ Check # ________ Office # ________ Candidate No ________

CANDIDATE'S STATEMENT FOR VOTERS' PAMPHLET

For: ☐ Primary Election ☐ General Election ______________, 19____
Election Date

- Any eligible candidate may file with the Secretary of State, for printing in the voters' pamphlet, **two portrait photographs** of the candidate and **two copies of a typewritten statement.**
- The statement consists of two parts:
  - **Part One is required** and must include a summary of the candidate's occupation, occupational and educational background, and prior governmental experience. **This part must be signed by the candidate.**
  - **Part Two is optional** and may state the reasons the candidate should be nominated or elected. This part may be signed by the candidate or the person filing the portrait and statement.
- The combined word total for both parts must not exceed 325 words for one page (29.8 sq. in.) of voters' pamphlet space, and 900 words for two pages (59.6 sq. in.).
- If the word limit is exceeded, the Secretary of State, at the secretary's discretion, will edit the statement to insure compliance.
- Statements will **not** be returned to candidates for proofing.
- Information cited or quoted from previously published material **must include the date of publication.**

CANDIDATE

Name:

Office:

District or Position (if applicable): ______________

Party: ______________

PORTRAIT REQUIREMENTS

☐ Submitted ☐ Not submitted

- Two 5" x 7" black and white prints of the candidate's portrait should be submitted.
- The portrait must be a conventional photograph of the face or face and bust of the candidate and shall not include the hands or anything held in the hands.
- The background must be plain. An untextured, light gray is recommended.
- The portrait must not show the candidate wearing a hat, uniform, robe, or any insignia.
- The portrait must be less than two years old from the date of submission.
- Any actual cost incurred for retouching photographs to meet the above requirements will be billed to the candidate.

VOTERS' PAMPHLET FILING FEES

"Page" means 29.8 square inches or one column of Voters' Pamphlet space for portrait and statement (ORS 251.095).

Public Office	Voters' Pamphlet Fee
1. United States President or Vice President	Two pages, $500
2. United States Senator or Representative	Two pages, $500
3. Statewide Offices including Judicial Offices	Two pages, $300
4. State Senator or Representative	One page, $100
5. All other offices eligible for voters' pamphlet space	One page, $100

OFFICE USE ONLY:

304

Book(s) # ________

PART ONE: REQUIRED INFORMATION

(If Part One is not completed or is not signed by the candidate the statement will be rejected.)

OCCUPATION (Present employment):

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND (Previous employment):

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND (Schools attended; last grade completed; degree(s), if any):

PRIOR GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE (Elected or appointed):

By signing this form I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT all information supplied by me about my occupation, educational and occupational background, and prior governmental experience is true to the best of my knowledge.

Any person who supplies any information in this part, knowing it to be false, is subject upon conviction to imprisonment in the penitentiary for up to five years or to a fine of $100,000, or both.

____
(Signature of Candidate)

TOTAL WORDS—PART ONE: ________

Continue candidate's statement on reverse side of this form.

PART TWO: OPTIONAL STATEMENT

Type no more than 325 words for one page (29.8 sq. in.) of voters' pamphlet space and no more than 900 words for two pages (59.6 sq. in.). Count each word including those used for the required Part One summary. **Please Note:** These maximum word totals do not allow for special spacing, indenting, and excessive capitalization. Fewer words must be used if such devices are employed. If the material complies with the word limitation, but does not fit the allotted space, the Secretary of State, at the secretary's discretion, will make format changes to insure that the full text is printed. Use SED Form 125a Supplement if necessary.

Part One Total Words ____________

Part Two Total Words ____________

Grand Total Words ____________

This information furnished by ________________________________
Name of candidate or committee

________________ Signature of individual filing statement

________________ Address

Phone No. – Days ____________

Phone No. – Evenings ____________

PART III - ELECTIONS AND YOU: BECOMING A WORKING MEMBER OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNMENT

A. Getting Organized: Objectives and Tests

B. Lesson I - Your Vote Counts: Why Should I Vote?

C. Lesson II - Voting Behaviors: Who Votes, Who Doesn't, and Why

A. GETTING ORGANIZED

Introduction and Teaching Objectives

Pre-Test

Post-Test

Answer Keys to Tests

PART III - ELECTIONS AND YOU: BECOMING A WORKING MEMBER OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNMENT

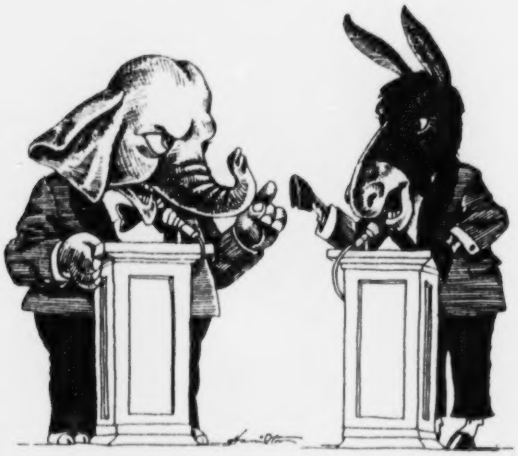
Democracy is not a spectator sport. Our system needs active players to keep it alive.

One simple way to participate in a democracy is to vote. Yet, only about 50 percent of our nation's eligible voters turn out at the polls.

When we don't vote, we are, in a sense, expressing our passive consent to the status quo. We are negating our opportunity to create change.

The learner will demonstrate ability to:

1. understand the importance of every vote in a democratic government by explaining why it is important to participate in the election process.
2. know some of the reasons why people don't take part in government by listing them.
3. analyze and respond to nonvoters' excuses by suggesting solutions.



Your Vote Counts!

I
Registered
To Vote
Today

PRE-TEST - Elections and You: Becoming a Working Member of Participatory Government

1. Give two reasons why it is important for every eligible person to register and vote in elections.

2. What are some reasons why people don't vote in elections?

3. Respond by each of the reasons in #2 by deciding whether the reason is valid and what solution might remove the reason for not voting.

MULTIPLE CHOICE POST-TEST - Part III

For each of the following questions, select the one, best answer.

____ 1. What are some valid reasons to vote?

a. Because the results of elections affect the lives of everyone.
b. Because every vote counts in an election.
c. Because voting is an important right and obligation in a democracy.
d. All of the above.

____ 2. Which of these groups is most likely to vote?

a. low income people.
b. middle-aged and older people.
c. 18-31-year-olds.
d. people who move frequently.

____ 3. Which of these groups is least likely to vote?

a. college-educated people.
b. people with five years of schooling or less.
c. Northerners.
d. white collar workers.

____ 4. People who don't vote tend to believe ______________.

a. that life is a matter of luck.
b. that people are powerless in an election.
c. that government is complex.
d. that public officials don't care.
e. all of the above.

____ 5. Many 18-21-year olds don't vote because __________________.

a. they care more about themselves than their government.
b. they don't see politics affecting their personal lives.
c. they have not yet selected a political party.
d. they weren't properly educated in high school.
e. b and c

____ 6. Registration deadlines may make a difference in whether people vote in elections.

a. Yes
b. No

____ 7. One way to increase voter interest on the West Coast is by _____________.

a. establishing a uniform poll closing time.
b. convincing the media to announce the national winners as early as possible.
c. keeping the polls open longer.
d. eliminating the Electoral College.

____ 8. Special interests depend on high voter turnout at the polls.

a. Yes
b. No

____ 9. Voter participation in the United States is __________ compared to other democracies.

a. high
b. low

____ 10. ___________ 18-year-olds vote usually vote in an election.

a. More than 75% of the
b. More than 50% of the
c. More than 25% of the
d. More than 15% of the

ANSWER KEYS TO TESTS:

PRE-TEST:

1. See Lesson I, pages 314 to 318 for reasons to vote.

2. busy, lack of interest, motivation
   lack of information about registration procedures
   disillusioned with the political system
   don't believe their vote counts
   moved recently, not familiar with local issues
   haven't chosen a political party and can't vote for partisan candidates in the primary election
   don't feel that they understand government or political issues
   don't believe government is responsive to their needs
   don't feel the duty of citizenship to vote
   their friends and families don't vote either

3. Answers will vary. Student response.

POST-TEST:

1. D
2. B
3. B
4. E
5. E
6. A
7. A
8. B
9. B
10. D

B. LESSON I - YOUR VOTE COUNTS: WHY SHOULD I VOTE?

Reasons to Vote

The Power of One Vote

"One Vote Makes A Difference"

"Why I'm Voting"
Yakov Smirnoff

Objective #1: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

understand the importance of every vote in a democratic government by explaining why it is important to participate in the election process.

REASONS TO VOTE

From SCHOLASTIC Magazine:

5 Selfish Reasons:

1. By registering to vote, you take your rightful place among other adults. Your registration also sends a signal to others that you are an adult.
2. Being a registered voter can help when you're seeking a personal favor from local or state officials, or from your U.S. Representatives or Senators. Elected officials can often help citizens cut through government red tape.
3. By voting you can promote laws that benefit people your age. If you think officials ignore young people, you may be right. That's because young people have not been sending a clear message by registering and voting.
4. As a registered voter, you help your neighborhood get your local government's attention. Elected officials tend to ignore districts where voter turnout is low. Yet they often pamper those districts where turnout is high.
5. After you've registered to vote, you can gain valuable experience by volunteering to register others. (You don't have to be registered, however, to work for your favorite candidate or to promote an issue you care about.)

5 Noble Reasons:

1. The more citizens who take an active part in our democracy, the stronger it is. By voting, you help make your local, state, and federal governments representative of all Americans.
2. Voting keeps government officials on their toes. If they feel that voters don't care what they do, some may be tempted to do far less than their best.
3. Your votes tell officials who are doing a good job that you support them. That's an important message, as valuable as a test score that tells you where you stand.
4. Low voter turnout lets groups with special interests control an election's outcome. The groups' goals may be at odds with the community's--something that could work against everyone's best interests.
5. Even if your candidate loses, your vote has great value as a symbol. The simple act of voting is an affirmation of your belief in "government of the people, by the people, (and) for the people."

VOTE AS IF DEMOCRACY DEPENDED ON IT.
IT DOES!

I'M REGISTERED
NASC
DSA
A VOTE IS POWER

Do You Think Your VOTE Counts?

REGISTER AND VOTE!

Your mother would want you to.

RicharD GUINDON

"WHY SHOULD I BOTHER TO GET INVOLVED?"

Because your vote is the only way you can directly participate in the government of this nation. That might not sound very impressive but is there any other thing which affects your day-to-day life more than government? Think about that the next time you go shopping. You can't buy your child a piece of bubble gum for a penny or a gallon of gasoline for a dollar. If you think things could be better you're probably right but the only way to change things is to VOTE!

REASONS TO VOTE:

1. Because one person's vote can make a difference in the outcome of an election.
2. Because our democratic government depends on the participation of its citizens.
3. Because the results of elections affect the lives of all of us--not just those who vote.
4. Because your mother would want you to.

THE POWER OF ONE VOTE

One vote caused Charles i to be executed in 1649.

One vote made Texas part of the United States in 1845.

One vote saved President Andrew Johnson from impeachment in 1868.

One vote made Adolph Hitler head of the Nazi Party in 1923.

One vote saved the Selective Service System only 12 weeks before Pearl Harbor in 1941.

One vote admitted California in 1850, Idaho in 1890, Washington in 1889, and Oregon in 1859 to the union.

One vote elected Rutherford B. Hayes to the Presidency, and the man in the Electoral College who cast that vote was an Indiana congressman elected by one vote.

One vote kept Aaron Burr, later charged with treason, from becoming President. That one vote elected Thomas Jefferson President in 1800.

Woodrow Wilson was elected President in 1916 by carrying one state by less that one percent of the vote.

One vote made Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England in 1645.

One vote decided that Americans would speak English rather than German in 1776.

One vote changed France from a monarchy to a republic in 1875.

--From Voter Information and Education Programs, by the National Clearinghouse on Election Administration.

CLOSE VOTES:

In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected President of the United States by less than 1 vote per precinct nationwide.

In 1839, Marcus Morton was elected Governor of Massachusetts by one vote out of 102,066 cast.

In 1950, a state Senator from Garrett County, Maryland was elected by one vote. The winner had 3,080 and the loser, 3,079.

In 1989, the Cascade School District came out of the safety net by six votes.

FOR YOUR FUTURE

One Vote Makes A Difference

By DAVID A. FRYXELL

Almost everybody in town seemed to be behind Mary Herron when she ran for mayor of Coronado, Calif., in 1984. She was the overwhelming favorite.

So on election day, it was no surprise that many of her supporters simply didn't bother to go to the polls. She lost by nine votes.

Thus, Mary Herron (shown right) joined good company—Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, Tom Bradley, Thomas Jefferson, and others—politicians who learned the power of one vote the hard way.

Politicians learn

Nixon lost the U.S. presidency to John Kennedy in 1960 by an equivalent of less than one vote in each precinct; later, Nixon beat Humphrey for the presidency by only three votes per precinct. Bradley lost the California governorship to George Deukmejian in 1982 by fewer than four votes a precinct. And after ballots were first counted, just two more votes could have made Mary Herron mayor of Coronado.

"The election was so close that it went out over the national wire services," she recalls with a chuckle. Yes, she can laugh about it—now: "At first the margin was one, maybe three votes. They recounted two times. Every time they recounted, it got worse."

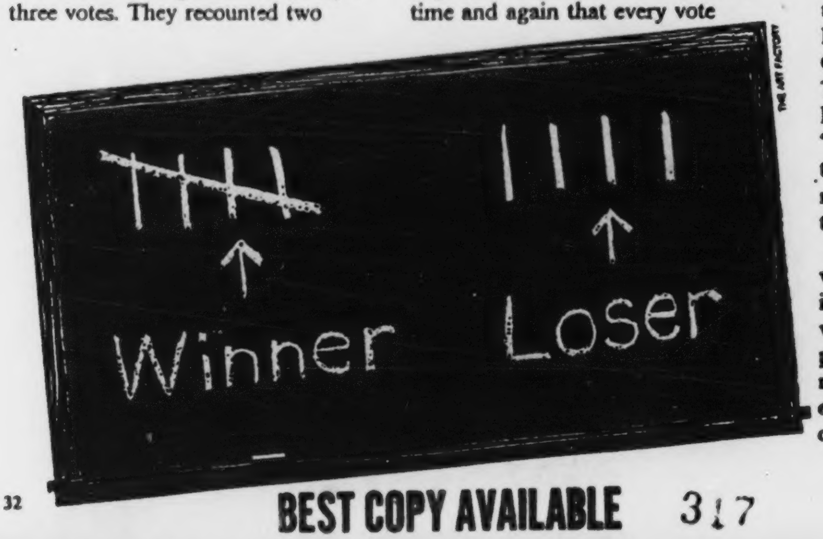
In the final tally, Herron had lost to R. H. Dorman by nine votes in a town of 20,000 people. "It got to be quite a civics lesson for the town," she says.

First elected to the city council in 1978 and again in 1982—with the biggest share of the vote—Herron looked to be a shoo-in when the mayor's job opened up. Everybody in town, including the retiring mayor, seemed to be backing her. But then battles over traffic and a proposed restaurant in an old ferryboat derailed her momentum. A telephone poll found Herron ahead, yet not by as much as she'd expected.

"I tried to convince my supporters that I was in trouble, but they just laughed—and we all learned a hard lesson," Herron says. "My people didn't get out to vote to the extent his did. People called me later and said they'd gone to the grocery store or played tennis instead of voting, and they felt awful about it.

"I was going to say that it all added up, but really I guess it all *subtracted,*" she notes.

It was nothing new, though. Almost since American democracy began, close elections have proven time and again that every vote counts. It was one vote in the House of Representatives, after a tie in the Electoral College, that elected Thomas Jefferson president in 1800 instead of Aaron Burr. One-vote margins made states out of Texas, California, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon.



In 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes won the White House by a lone vote in Congress after the Electoral College deadlocked. (And the Indiana congressman who put Hayes over the top had won his own seat by a single vote earlier.)

Each vote is even more vital in local elections like Herron's. East Palo Alto, Calif., residents voted to incorporate in 1983 by a margin of only 15 votes. In Lansing, Mich., in 1978, councilman Jack Gunther won by two votes, was challenged, and won the recount by *one* vote. Deadlocked California school elections in La Honda-Pescadero (in 1973) and Belmont (in 1981) had to be decided by drawing straws.

Lessons tough on the nerves

Winning a close one may be an even better civics lesson than losing one—though no easier on the nerves. Linda Heacox, press secretary for Indiana Congressman Jack Hiler, recalls the 77-day recount in 1986 that sent Hiler to Washington by 47 votes: "Nobody would want to go through that again. It was incredibly nerve-racking for the two candidates and their staffs, a real test of character."

Voter turnout across the country, which has dropped from 63 percent in 1960 to barely half the eligible voters, sagged again in 1986—particularly in Indiana, where the main race, for U.S. Senate, wasn't expected to be close. "Lots of people didn't vote who should have,"

Continued on page 42

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One Vote Makes A Difference

Continued from page 32

Heacox says. "We fell down in our efforts to get our people out."

Hiler will face the same opponent, Thomas Ward, again this year, and no one would be surprised at a rerun of the nation's closest congressional race. And this time Heacox hopes Indiana voters have learned that their votes count: "Get out there and get your two cents in," she urges. "If only 24 votes had changed in '86, he'd be here and we wouldn't. If any race in the country can tell you how important it is to vote, it's us."

Melodie Rydalch might give her some argument there. Though her candidate, Idaho Congressman Richard Stallings, won in 1984 by a comparatively whopping 133 votes, nobody involved in the campaign has forgotten that election night. "At first the margin was under 100 votes; then there was a recount," says Rydalch, Stallings' press secretary. "It was a horrible situation. Each day you'd live and die by the recount."

Stallings, who had taught about democracy at Ricks College before running for office, has always felt strongly about the importance of every vote, Rydalch says, "but he came to understand that principle personally in the campaign." She adds that the close victory that sent Stallings to Washington affected the way he does his job: "He works very hard with individuals and is very aggressive at returning to his district. He knows that reaching one person now may make a difference in the election later."

That hard work must be paying off, because Stallings won reelection in 1986 by nearly 17,000 votes.

Voting can sometimes seem like hard work. You have to take time to educate yourself about the candidates and the issues. And actually casting your ballot must compete with a hectic schedule of work, family activities, and other civic demands.

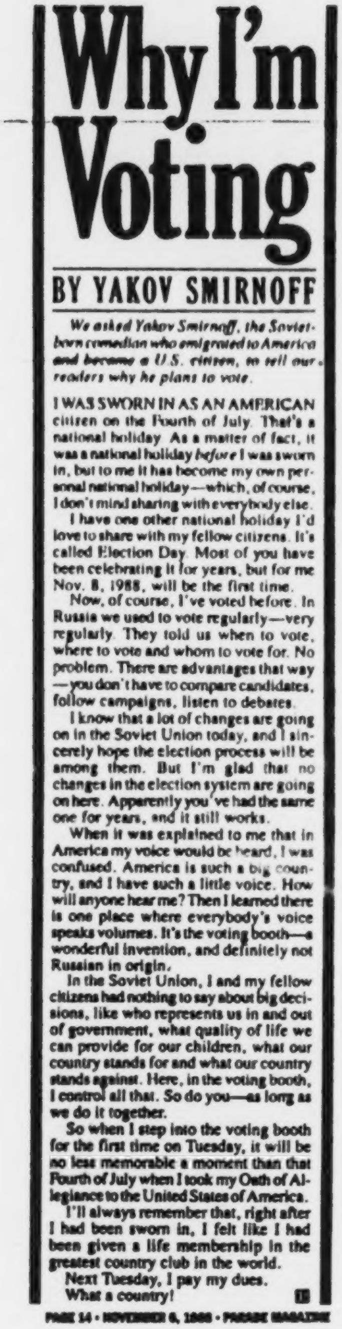
Brian Detter, press secretary to Texas Congressman Jim Chapman, Jr. (who won his seat in a 1985 election by 1,924 votes), speaks to students visiting Washington. He likes to tells them about a woman he spoke to while campaigning in Iowa for presidential candidate Richard Gephardt: "She said she really didn't think she could make it to the caucus because she had to take care of her three children ages 2, 4, and 6. I replied, 'Well, in my opinion, you should go and vote *because* of your children. You're voting not just for yourself, but for the kind of future you want them to have.' "

Even someone who's been on the losing end of a close election would agree that democracy works. "I really think local politics is fascinating. It's where the action is if you want to make a difference," says Mary Herron, who still serves on the Coronado City Council (and says the mayor is doing a pretty good job).

"I started in politics by lobbying for a local swimming pool. I know voting can make a difference, because I swim in that pool today."☐

David A. Fryxell, a frequent contributor to Friendly Exchange, *is executive editor of* Pitt *magazine for the University of Pittsburgh.*

IF YOU THINK YOUR VOTE DOESN'T COUNT LOOK AT THIS



Why I'm Voting

BY YAKOV SMIRNOFF

We asked Yakov Smirnoff, the Soviet-born comedian who emigrated to America and became a U.S. citizen, to tell our readers why he plans to vote.

I WAS SWORN IN AS AN AMERICAN citizen on the Fourth of July. That's a national holiday. As a matter of fact, it was a national holiday *before* I was sworn in, but to me it has become my own personal national holiday—which, of course, I don't mind sharing with everybody else.

I have one other national holiday I'd love to share with my fellow citizens. It's called Election Day. Most of you have been celebrating it for years, but for me Nov. 8, 1988, will be the first time.

Now, of course, I've voted before. In Russia we used to vote regularly—very regularly. They told us when to vote, where to vote and whom to vote for. No problem. There are advantages that way—you don't have to compare candidates, follow campaigns, listen to debates.

I know that a lot of changes are going on in the Soviet Union today, and I sincerely hope the election process will be among them. But I'm glad that no changes in the election system are going on here. Apparently you've had the same one for years, and it still works.

When it was explained to me that in America my voice would be heard, I was confused. America is such a big country, and I have such a little voice. How will anyone hear me? Then I learned there is one place where everybody's voice speaks volumes. It's the voting booth—a wonderful invention, and definitely not Russian in origin.

In the Soviet Union, I and my fellow citizens had nothing to say about big decisions, like who represents us in and out of government, what quality of life we can provide for our children, what our country stands for and what our country stands against. Here, in the voting booth, I control all that. So do you—as long as we do it together.

So when I step into the voting booth for the first time on Tuesday, it will be no less memorable a moment than that Fourth of July when I took my Oath of Allegiance to the United States of America.

I'll always remember that, right after I had been sworn in, I felt like I had been given a life membership in the greatest country club in the world.

Next Tuesday, I pay my dues.

What a country!

PAGE 14 • NOVEMBER 6, 1988 • PARADE MAGAZINE

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C. LESSON II - VOTING BEHAVIORS: WHO VOTES, WHO DOESN'T, AND WHY

Who Votes?

Oregon Voter Participation Tables

Who Doesn't Vote?

Teaching Activity:
The Impact of Low Voter Turnout on Political Decisions

Attitudes and Voter Participation

Voting and 18-21-Year-Olds:
The Missing Generation

Voting and Registration In
the Election of November 1988

Uniform Poll Closing
and Voter Participation in Western States

Voter Registration and Voter Participation

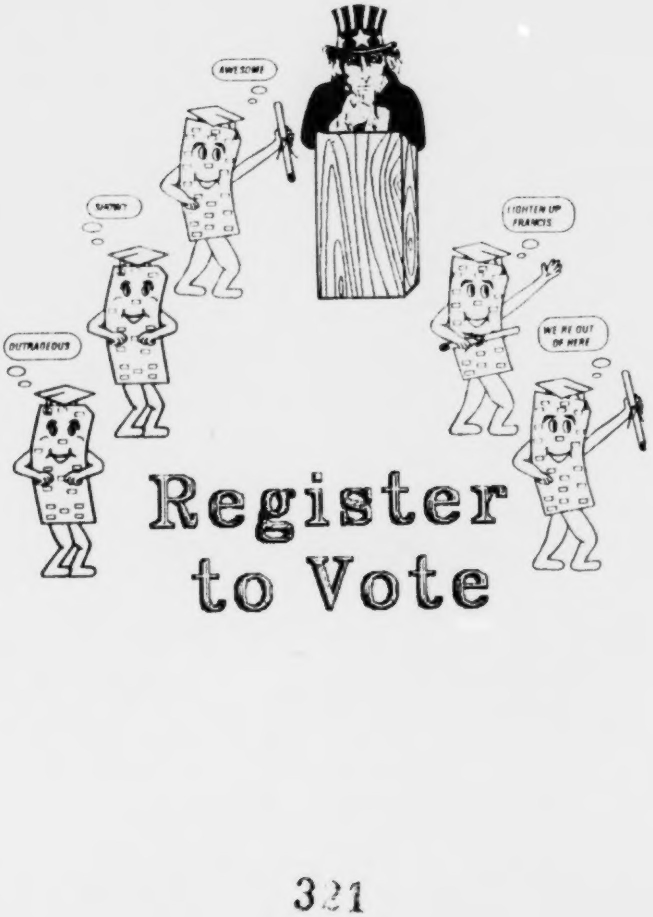
Voter Participation and Special Interests

Objective #2: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

know some of the reasons why people don't take part in government by listing them.

Objective #3: The learner will demonstrate ability to:

analyze and respond to nonvoters' excuses by suggesting solutions.


AWESOME
OUTRAGEOUS
LIGHTEN UP FRANCIS
WE'RE OUT OF HERE
Register to Vote

WHO VOTES?

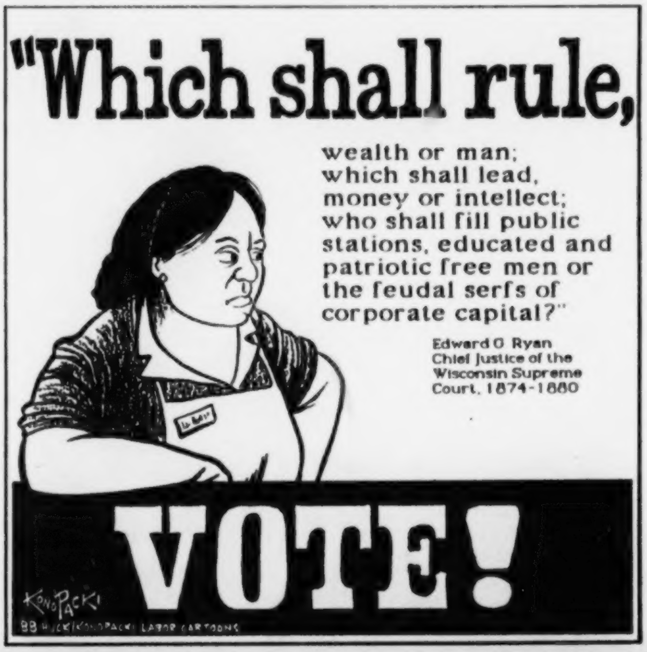
Decisions which affect everyone are often made by a mere fraction of eligible citizens. In Oregon, only about 67% of eligible citizens are even registered to vote. In special elections--where voters are deciding a small number of local issues--voter turnout can be as low as 15-18% of those registered!

A majority vote in such an election is still simply ½ + 1. Translation: as few as 7½% of the eligible citizens are making decisions which influence everyone's activities and pocketbooks.

Who are the people who are consistently making these decisions? Social scientists have done studies which show the following trends.

People who are more likely to vote come from the following social groups:

- white collar workers (professional, technical, clerks, salespeople, government employees)
- married people
- middle-aged and older people
- people who have lived in one place for more than two years
- students
- college-educated people
- middle income to very rich
- Northerners
- white people


"Which shall rule,
wealth or man;
which shall lead,
money or intellect;
who shall fill public
stations, educated and
patriotic free men or
the feudal serfs of
corporate capital?"
Edward G Ryan
Chief Justice of the
Wisconsin Supreme
Court, 1874-1880
VOTE!
KONOPACKI
88 HUCK/KONOPACKI LABOR CARTOONS

OREGON VOTER PARTICIPATION TABLES

Study the following tables on Oregon voter participation. What political parties are represented more in Eastern Oregon? on the coast? in the Willamette Valley? in Southern Oregon? in the Portland metropolitan area?

Voter Participation for General Election 1988

County	Number of Registered Democrats	Number of Democrats Voting	Percent of Democratic Participation	Number of Registered Republicans	Number of Republicans Voting	Percent of Republican Participation	Number of "Other" Registrations	Number of "Others" Voting	Percent of "Other" Participation	Total Registration	Total Number of Ballots Issued and Counted	Percent of Total Participation
Baker	4,099	3,419	83.4	3,556	3,018	84.9	831	618	74.4	8,486	7,055	83.1
Benton	17,193	14,629	85.1	15,974	13,219	82.8	5,831	4,478	76.8	38,998	32,326	82.9
Clackamas	70,116	58,079	82.8	62,567	53,684	85.8	20,537	14,737	71.8	153,220	126,500	82.6
Clatsop	9,506	6,403	67.4	6,323	4,094	64.8	2,561	1,542	60.2	18,390	12,039	65.5
Columbia	11,742	9,903	84.3	5,593	4,804	85.9	1,989	1,487	74.8	19,324	16,194	83.8
Coos	18,156	15,070	83.0	9,857	8,366	84.9	3,321	2,314	69.7	31,334	25,750	82.2
Crook	3,558	3,058	86.0	2,672	2,356	88.2	815	590	72.4	7,045	6,004	85.2
Curry	5,174	4,189	81.0	4,874	4,106	84.3	1,376	934	67.9	11,424	9,229	80.8
Deschutes	17,619	14,343	81.4	16,924	14,120	83.4	5,399	3,880	71.9	39,942	32,343	81.0
Douglas	23,597	19,042	80.7	20,085	16,912	84.2	5,449	3,647	66.9	49,131	39,601	80.6
Gilliam	539	460	85.4	489	406	83.0	85	62	73.0	1,113	928	83.4
Grant	2,197	1,812	82.5	2,078	1,770	85.2	549	394	71.8	4,824	3,976	82.4
Harney	1,842	1,623	88.1	1,680	1,456	86.7	430	340	79.1	3,952	3,419	86.5
Hood River	3,862	2,561	66.3	3,292	2,963	90.0	1,244	259	20.8	8,398	5,783	68.9
Jackson	33,241	27,690	83.3	33,408	28,330	84.8	11,763	8,149	69.3	78,412	64,169	81.8
Jefferson	2,809	2,367	84.3	2,613	2,252	86.2	763	501	65.7	6,185	5,120	82.8
Josephine	13,830	11,316	81.8	16,213	13,798	85.1	4,334	2,935	67.7	34,377	28,049	81.6
Klamath	14,357	10,665	74.3	13,744	10,470	76.2	3,665	2,211	60.3	31,766	23,346	73.5
Lake	2,207	1,774	80.4	1,894	1,567	82.7	366	242	66.1	4,467	3,583	80.2
Lane	76,965	64,968	84.4	51,865	44,030	84.9	18,623	13,471	73.3	147,453	122,469	83.1
Lincoln	11,229	9,287	82.7	7,691	6,565	85.4	2,974	2,146	72.2	21,894	17,998	82.2
Linn	23,094	18,585	80.5	17,560	14,585	83.1	6,019	4,119	68.4	46,673	37,289	79.9
Malheur	4,584	3,785	82.6	6,304	5,116	81.2	1,295	869	67.1	12,183	9,770	80.2
Marion	49,377	40,253	81.5	49,037	40,923	83.5	14,260	9,608	67.4	112,674	90,784	80.6
Morrow	1,940	1,512	77.9	1,522	1,231	80.9	531	329	62.0	3,993	3,072	76.9
Multnomah	189,235	153,563	81.2	105,985	87,294	82.4	45,054	30,166	67.0	340,274	271,023	79.7
Polk	11,581	9,437	81.5	11,653	9,859	84.6	3,169	2,199	69.4	26,403	21,495	81.4
Sherman	565	465	82.3	578	505	87.4	133	86	64.7	1,276	1,056	82.8
Tillamook	6,584	5,640	85.7	4,450	3,838	86.3	1,251	946	75.6	12,285	10,424	84.9
Umatilla	11,027	9,056	82.1	10,495	8,648	82.4	3,343	2,308	69.0	24,865	20,012	80.5
Union	6,186	4,932	79.7	5,597	4,278	76.4	1,635	1,349	82.5	13,418	10,559	78.7
Wallowa	2,195	1,649	75.1	1,873	1,563	83.4	383	349	91.1	4,451	3,561	80.0
Wasco	6,265	5,262	84.1	4,502	3,856	85.7	1,621	1,172	72.3	12,388	10,290	83.1
Washington	67,083	54,537	81.3	73,862	60,697	82.2	24,216	17,800	73.5	165,161	133,034	80.6
Wheeler	403	317	78.7	370	316	85.4	113	77	68.2	886	710	80.1
Yamhill	13,532	11,425	84.4	13,468	11,532	85.6	4,413	3,282	74.4	31,413	26,239	83.5
TOTAL	737,489	603,076	81.8	590,648	492,527	83.4	200,341	139,596	69.7	1,528,478	1,235,199	80.8

Now study the following tables, comparing the voter participation in primary elections with that in general elections. Which elections had higher voter participation? Find the presidential election years (divisible by 4). Was voter turnout generally higher or lower during those years? Compare election years by who was running for president (1988- Bush/Dukakis, 1984- Reagan/Mondale, 1980- Reagan/Carter, 1976- Ford/Carter). Which presidential election years had higher turnouts? How much influence does interest in the national elections have on voter participation? Are there differences in voter participation when an incumbent president is running for a second term?

Comparative Voter Participation

PRIMARY ELECTIONS

	DEMOCRATIC			REPUBLICAN			OTHERS			TOTAL		
Year	Registration	Voted	Percent	Registration	Voted	Percent	Registration	Voted	Percent	Registration	Voted	Percent
1960	420,958	286,868	68.1	365,377	256,447	70.2	10,701	2,557	23.9	797,036	545,872	68.5
1962	457,224	236,808	51.8	383,253	220,273	57.5	13,625	2,859	21.9	854,102	459,940	53.9
1964	456,508	305,583	66.9	383,752	292,539	76.2	13,065	5,145	39.4	853,325	603,267	70.7
1966	507,603	267,808	52.8	399,297	244,148	61.1	17,441	4,821	27.6	924,341	516,777	55.9
1968	550,121	394,454	71.7	428,626	324,023	75.6	17,915	6,954	38.8	996,662	725,431	72.8
1970	557,189	300,012	53.8	437,188	260,914	59.7	23,640	7,625	32.3	1,018,017	568,551	55.8
1972	656,572	420,523	64.0	464,797	301,510	64.8	37,342	12,518	33.5	1,158,711	734,551	63.4
1974	711,538	330,163	46.4	481,599	251,147	52.1	55,459	11,862	21.4	1,248,596	593,172	47.5
1976	740,621	451,452	61.0	473,779	312,752	66.0	95,848	34,782	36.3	1,310,248	798,986	61.0
1978	767,917	315,515	41.1	486,541	259,145	53.3	135,547	28,818	21.3	1,390,005	603,478	43.3
1980	715,102	404,968	56.6	503,440	329,770	65.5	158,031	45,911	29.1	1,376,573	780,649	56.7
1982	713,727	346,474	48.5	528,495	274,168	51.9	195,471	48,887	25.0	1,437,693	669,529	46.6
1984	736,592	416,507	56.5	527,041	297,664	56.5	193,434	53,394	27.6	1,457,067	767,565	52.7
1986	708,351	339,323	47.9	564,230	308,950	54.8	185,719	45,548	24.5	1,458,300	693,821	47.6
1988	672,014	401,473	59.7	538,273	302,875	56.3	156,007	48,764	31.3	1,366,294	753,112	55.1

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	DEMOCRATIC			REPUBLICAN			OTHERS			TOTAL		
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1966	518,228	363,864	70.2	412,586	317,545	77.0	19,011	12,387	65.2	949,825	693,796	73.0
1968	530,074	439,706	83.0	420,943	368,887	87.5	20,834	15,969	76.6	971,851	824,562	84.8
1970	521,662	360,962	69.2	410,693	297,234	72.4	23,104	13,682	59.2	955,459	681,381	71.3
1972	673,710	521,190	77.4	473,907	394,604	83.3	50,059	37,582	75.1	1,197,676	953,376	79.6
1974	652,414	443,039	67.9	439,667	322,157	73.3	50,992	27,361	53.7	1,143,073	792,557	69.3
1976	794,218	573,997	72.3	497,297	385,785	77.6	128,631	88,779	69.0	1,420,146	1,048,561	73.8
1978	808,182	498,916	61.7	511,621	358,873	70.1	162,536	79,634	48.9	1,482,339	937,423	63.2
1980	784,129	599,515	76.4	564,771	462,050	81.8	220,322	148,126	67.2	1,569,222	1,209,691	77.1
1982	751,100	537,552	71.6	551,718	411,104	74.5	213,771	115,257	53.9	1,516,589	1,063,913	70.2
1984	792,208	626,345	79.1	594,387	493,239	83.1	222,098	146,240	65.9	1,608,693	1,265,824	78.7
1986	728,177	537,578	73.8	587,154	441,881	75.3	186,913	108,681	58.2	1,502,244	1,088,140	72.4
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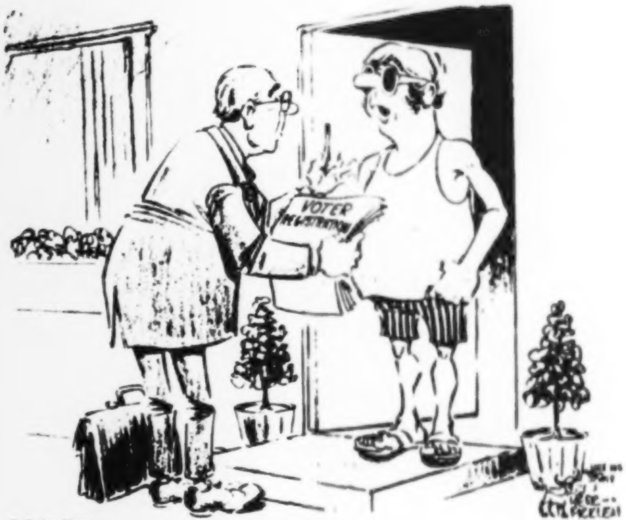
WHO DOESN'T VOTE?

Now let's look at the characteristics of people who are less likely to vote:

- blue collar workers (labor, physical work)
- women over 50 years old
- young people, ages 18-31
- mobile people (who have moved within two years of an election)
- non-students
- people with five years or less of schooling
- low income and unemployed people
- Southerners
- members of minority groups



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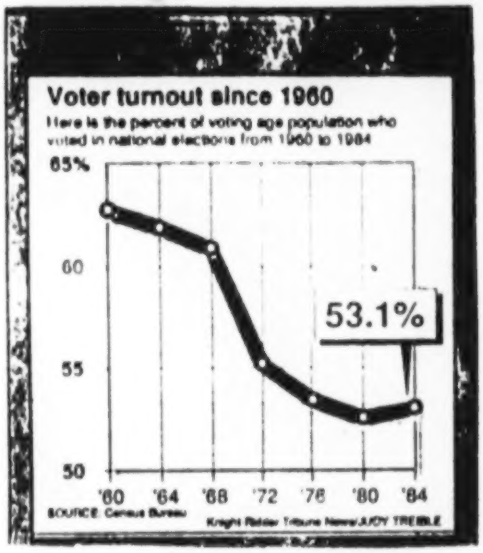
"I'M NOT APATHETIC, I JUST DON'T GIVE A DAMN."


Voter turnout since 1960

Here is the percent of voting age population who voted in national elections from 1960 to 1984

SOURCE: Census Bureau

Knight Ridder Tribune News/JUDY TREIBLE

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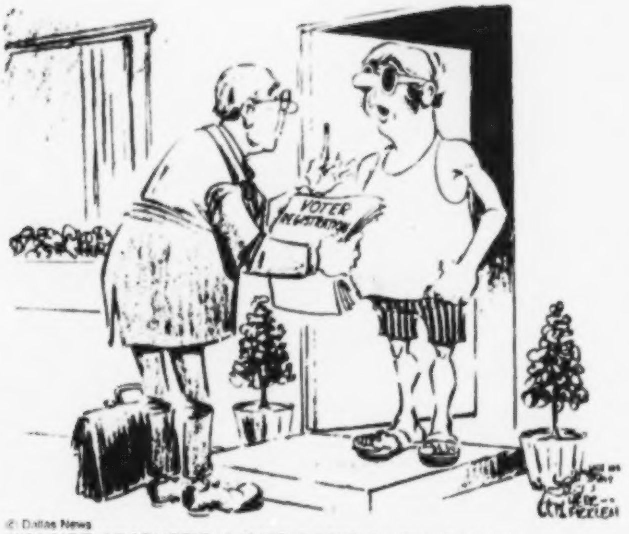

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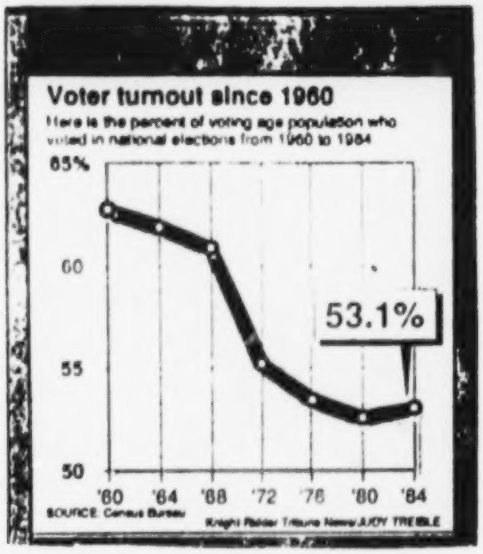
"I'M NOT APATHETIC, I JUST DON'T GIVE A DAMN."



SOURCE: Census Bureau

Knight-Ridder Tribune News/JUDY TREBLE

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TEACHING ACTIVITY: The Impact of Low Voter Turnout on Political Decisions

Need: Poker chips for the class

Step 1: Give 1/3 of the students in the class 3 chips (wealthy group)
Give 1/3 of the students in the class 2 chips (middle income group)
Give 1/3 of the students in the class 1 chip (lower income group)

Step 2: Describe the following scenario: The community is voting in a bond election to build a new community recreation center with indoor swimming pools, tennis courts, and gymnasiums. It is to be built on property near the wealthy northern subdivisions in the community. The tax will cost the average household one poker chip.

Step 3: Ask students the following questions:

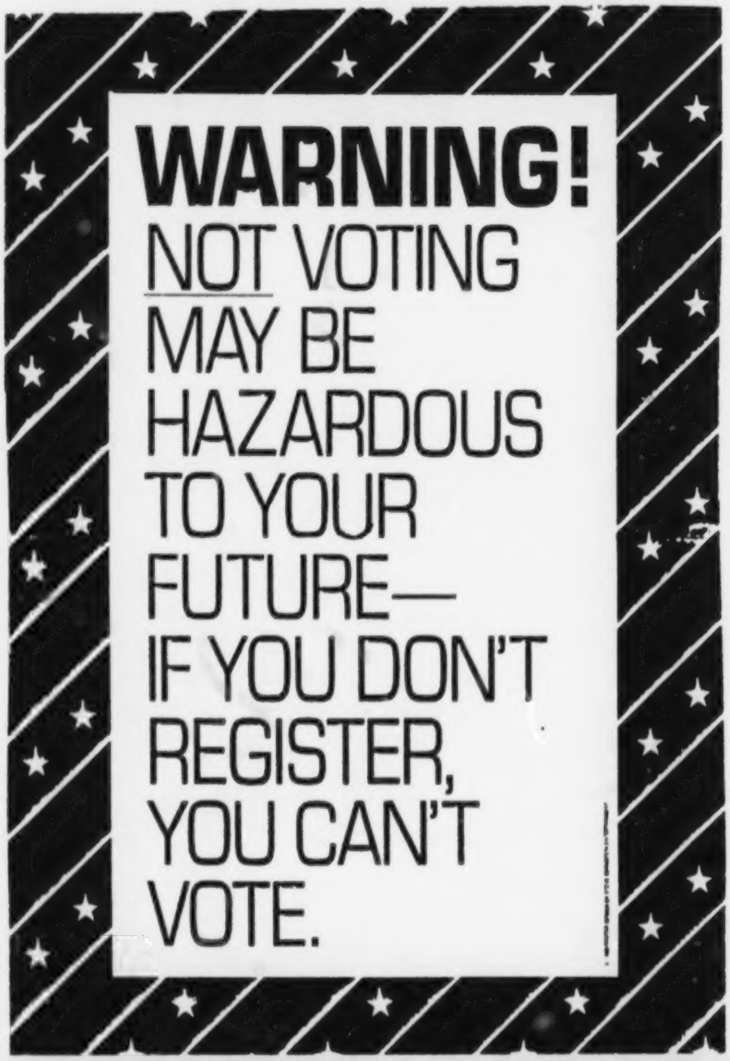
- Who can afford to pay the tax?
- What impact will the tax have on the lower income group?
- Which income group(s) will most likely vote in the election?
- Which group will receive the most benefit from the new recreation center?

Step 4: Select a group of students to vote based on those who would most likely vote in a bond election. (no more than 20% of the class, distribution highest among upper and middle income groups)

Step 5: Have students vote. Tally the ballots and announce the results.

Step 6: Collect the tax from each student.

Step 7: Discuss the impact of voter turnout and those who vote on the decision-making process in communities and government in general.

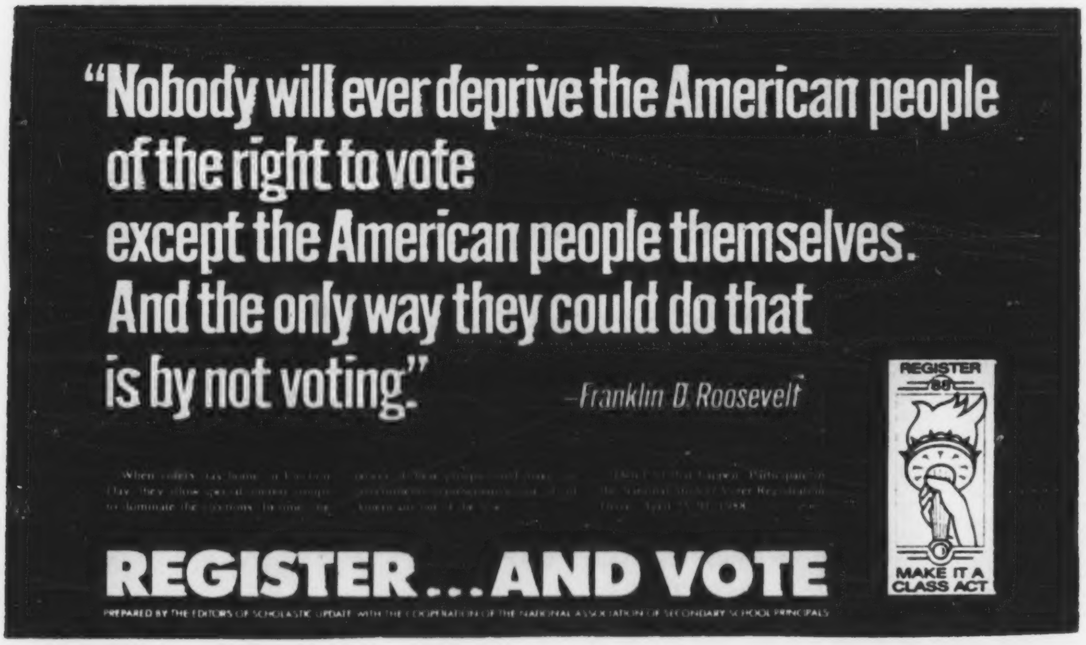


ATTITUDES AND VOTER PARTICIPATION

In his book, The Empty Polling Booth, Arthur T. Hadley investigated the attitudes of non-voters or "refrainers" and came to the conclusion that voter attitudes had more to do with voter participation than did demographic trends. Here are his findings:

Those who vote believe:	Those who don't vote believe:
that life is a matter of planning;	that life is a matter of luck;
that voting is a responsibility and moral obligation;	that voting is not their obligation (a low sense of "citizen-duty")
that their vote makes a difference;	that they are powerless;
that they can learn about government;	that government is too complex for them to understand;
that public officials care about what the people think.	that public officials don't care.

These findings have implications for those who wish to increase voter participation, because they point to specific ideas on which we can focus in educating the public. They also point to the responsibility held by public officials themselves in letting the citizens know that they are responsive to their ideas and needs and explaining government issues and processes to the public.



"Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves. And the only way they could do that is by not voting." —Franklin D. Roosevelt

REGISTER...AND VOTE

PREPARED BY THE EDITORS OF SCHOLASTIC UPDATE WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

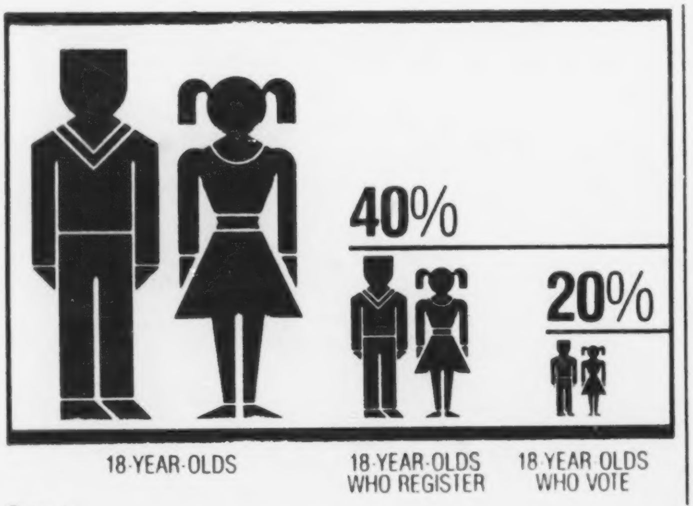
REGISTER '88
MAKE IT A CLASS ACT

VOTING AND 18-21-YEAR-OLDS: The Missing Generation

In 1988, 3.5 million 18-year-olds became eligible to vote. But the record for this age group since they gained the right to vote in 1971 is dismal. Only 40% even register to vote and less than 20% actually go to the polls

Why is it that 18-21-year-olds don't vote? Here are some possible reasons:

- many are not married
- many are still at a lower education level than older citizens
- lower income
- mobile - young people move more frequently and are not yet established in community activities
- they don't see politics affecting their personal lives
- they are still caught up in personal goals - finding a job, a mate, a place of residence
- they have not yet selected a political party



CURRENT POPULATION REPORTS

Population Characteristics

Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1988
(Advance Report)

U.S. Department of Commerce
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Series P-20, No. 435
Issued February 1989

According to results from the November 1988 Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the Bureau of the Census, 57 (± 0.4) percent of the voting-age population reported that they voted in the 1988 general election.[1] This represents a decline of 3 percentage points from the rate in the 1984 election, and the first drop in voter turnout in a Presidential election since 1976. The 1988 turnout rate was the lowest recorded in the CPS since the survey on voting and registration first began in 1964 (table A).

As in the 1984 Presidential election, turnout among women exceeded that among men by about 2 percentage points, 58 (± 0.5) for women versus 56 (± 0.5) for men.

Turnout declined for all age groups except the elderly; the rate for persons 65 years and over showed no

Table A. **Percent Reported Voting, by Region, Race, Hispanic Origin, Sex, and Age: November 1964 to 1988**

(Numbers in thousands)

Region, race, Hispanic origin, sex, and age	Presidential elections							Congressional elections			
	1988	1984	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964	1986	1982	1978	1974
UNITED STATES											
Total, voting age	178,098	169,963	157,085	146,548	136,203	116,535	110,604	173,890	165,483	151,646	141,299
Percent voted	57.4	59.9	59.2	59.2	63.0	67.8	69.3	46.0	48.5	45.9	44.7
White	59.1	61.4	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7	47.0	49.9	47.3	46.3
Black	51.5	55.8	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	[2]58.5	43.2	43.0	37.2	33.8
Hispanic[1]	28.8	32.6	29.9	31.8	37.5	(NA)	(NA)	24.2	25.3	23.5	22.9
Male	56.4	59.0	59.1	59.6	64.1	69.8	71.9	45.8	48.7	46.6	46.2
Female	58.3	60.8	59.4	58.8	62.0	66.0	67.0	46.1	48.4	45.3	43.4
18 to 24 years	36.2	40.8	39.9	42.2	49.6	[2]50.4	[3]50.9	21.9	24.8	23.5	23.8
25 to 44 years	54.0	58.4	58.7	58.7	62.7	66.6	69.0	41.4	45.4	43.1	42.2
45 to 64 years	67.9	69.8	69.3	68.7	70.8	74.9	75.9	58.7	62.2	58.5	56.9
65 years and over	68.8	67.7	65.1	62.2	63.5	65.8	66.3	60.9	59.9	55.9	51.4
NORTH AND WEST											
Total, voting age	117,373	112,376	106,524	99,403	93,653	81,594	78,174	114,689	110,126	102,894	96,505
Percent voted	58.9	61.6	61.0	61.2	66.4	71.0	74.6	47.5	51.9	48.9	48.8
White	60.4	63.0	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7	48.7	53.1	50.0	50.0
Black	55.6	58.9	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	[2]72.0	44.2	48.5	41.3	37.9
SOUTH											
Total, voting age	60,725	57,587	50,561	47,145	42,550	34,941	32,429	59,201	55,357	48,752	44,794
Percent voted	54.5	56.8	55.6	54.9	55.4	60.1	56.7	43.0	41.8	39.6	36.0
White	56.4	58.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.5	43.5	42.9	41.1	37.4
Black	48.0	53.2	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	[2]44.0	42.5	38.3	33.5	30.0

NA Not available.
[1] Hispanics may be of any race.
[2] Black and other races in 1964.
[3] Prior to 1972, includes persons 18 to 20 years old in Georgia and Kentucky, 19 and 20 in Alaska, and 20 years old in Hawaii.
Source: Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 143, 192, 253, 293, 322, 344, 370, 383, 405, 414, and table 1 of this report.

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[1] This compares with 50 percent actually voting, according to early reports of tabulated votes cast for President. See the section on Reliability of Estimated Statistics.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Table 1. Reported Voting and Registration, by Race, Hispanic Origin, Sex, and Age: November 1988

(Numbers in thousands)

Race, Hispanic origin, sex, and age	All persons	Reported registered		Reported voted		Reported that they did not vote[1]				
								Not registered		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total	Registered	Total[2]	Not a U.S. citizen	Do not know and not reported on registration
ALL RACES										
Both sexes	178,098	118,589	66.6	102,224	57.4	75,875	16,365	59,510	9,603	9,021
18 to 20 years	10,742	4,822	44.9	3,570	33.2	7,172	1,252	5,920	653	968
21 to 24 years	14,827	7,499	50.6	5,684	38.3	9,142	1,815	7,328	1,119	1,059
25 to 34 years	42,677	24,674	57.8	20,468	48.0	22,210	4,206	18,004	3,278	2,218
35 to 44 years	35,186	24,392	69.3	21,550	61.3	13,636	2,842	10,794	2,004	1,450
45 to 54 years	24,277	17,964	74.0	16,170	66.6	8,107	1,794	6,313	1,210	1,035
55 to 64 years	21,585	16,658	77.2	14,964	69.3	6,621	1,694	4,928	762	914
65 to 74 years	17,578	14,233	81.0	12,840	73.1	4,738	1,393	3,344	334	735
75 years and over	11,226	8,347	74.4	6,978	62.2	4,248	1,369	2,879	244	642
Male	84,531	55,139	65.2	47,704	56.4	36,826	7,434	29,392	4,791	4,769
18 to 20 years	5,299	2,232	42.1	1,652	31.2	3,648	581	3,067	356	535
21 to 24 years	7,188	3,444	47.9	2,610	36.3	4,578	835	3,744	647	618
25 to 34 years	20,959	11,603	55.4	9,588	45.8	11,370	2,014	9,356	1,661	1,319
35 to 44 years	17,206	11,509	66.9	10,169	59.1	7,037	1,340	5,697	1,049	756
45 to 54 years	11,765	8,732	74.2	7,833	66.6	3,932	899	3,033	553	555
55 to 64 years	10,164	7,869	77.4	7,090	70.0	3,075	779	2,295	320	440
65 to 74 years	7,805	6,427	82.4	5,854	75.0	1,951	574	1,377	134	351
75 years and over	4,144	3,321	80.1	2,909	70.2	1,236	412	824	73	196
Female	93,568	63,450	67.8	54,519	58.3	39,048	8,931	30,117	4,813	4,252
18 to 20 years	5,443	2,590	47.6	1,918	35.3	3,525	671	2,853	297	433
21 to 24 years	7,639	4,054	53.1	3,075	40.3	4.564	980	3,584	472	442
25 to 34 years	21,719	13,071	60.2	10,879	50.1	10,839	2,192	8,648	1,617	899
35 to 44 years	17,980	12,883	71.7	11,381	63.3	6,599	1,502	5,097	955	695
45 to 54 years	12,512	9,231	73.8	8,337	66.6	4,175	895	3,280	657	480
55 to 64 years	11,421	8,789	77.0	7,874	68.9	3,547	914	2,632	443	474
65 to 74 years	9,773	7,806	79.9	6,986	71.5	2,787	820	1,967	200	385
75 years and over	7,082	5,026	71.0	4 069	57.5	3,012	957	2,055	171	446
WHITE										
Both sexes	152,848	103,830	67.9	90,357	59.1	62,492	13,474	49,018	6,849	7,234
18 to 20 years	8,824	4,047	45.9	3,045	34.5	5,778	1,002	4,777	440	775
21 to 24 years	12,268	6,231	50.8	4,750	38.7	7,518	1,481	6,037	832	833
25 to 34 years	35,914	21,238	59.1	17,963	50.0	17,950	3,275	14,676	2,313	1,712
35 to 44 years	30,139	21,296	70.7	18,964	62.9	11,175	2,332	8,843	1,395	1,150
45 to 54 years	20,903	15,689	75.1	14,206	68.0	6,697	1,483	5,214	890	829
55 to 64 years	18,892	14,816	78.4	13,346	70.6	5,547	1,470	4,077	560	739
65 to 74 years	15,771	12,876	81.6	11,638	73.8	4,133	1,238	2,895	234	626
75 years and over	10,137	7,637	75.3	6,444	63.6	3,693	1,193	2,500	184	570
Male	73,119	48,836	66.8	42,662	58.4	30,457	6,174	24,283	3,427	3,816
18 to 20 years	4,377	1,893	43.3	1,420	32.4	2,957	474	2,483	212	433
21 to 24 years	5,990	2,891	48.3	2,202	36.8	3,788	690	3,099	490	496
25 to 34 years	17,879	10,162	56.8	8,570	47.9	9,309	1,592	7,717	1,197	1,028
35 to 44 years	14,907	10,238	68.7	9,123	61.2	5,783	1,114	4,669	733	595
45 to 54 years	10,240	7,751	75.7	6,978	68.1	3,262	774	2,488	401	427
55 to 64 years	8,960	7,026	78.4	6,348	70.9	2,611	677	1,934	242	362
65 to 74 years	7,035	5,840	83.0	5,338	75.9	1,696	502	1,195	103	296
75 years and over	3,733	3,035	81.3	2,683	71.9	1,050	352	697	49	176
Female	79,730	54,994	69.0	47,695	59.8	32,035	7,300	24,735	3,422	3,418
18 to 20 years	4,447	2,154	48.4	1,626	36.6	2,821	528	2,293	228	342
21 to 24 years	6,278	3,340	53.2	2,548	40.6	3,730	792	2,938	342	335
25 to 34 years	18,035	11,076	61.4	9,393	52.1	8,642	1,683	6,958	1,116	683
35 to 44 years	15,233	11,058	72.6	9,841	64.6	5,392	1,218	4,175	662	554
45 to 54 years	10,664	7,938	74.4	7,228	67.8	3,435	709	2,726	489	402
55 to 64 years	9,933	7,790	78.4	6,997	70.5	2,935	793	2,143	318	376
65 to 74 years	8,736	7,036	80.5	6,300	72.1	2,436	736	1,700	132	330
75 years and over	6,404	4,602	71.9	3,761	58.7	2,643	841	1,802	135	395

Table 1. **Reported Voting and Registration, by Race, Hispanic Origin, Sex, and Age: November 1988**—Con.

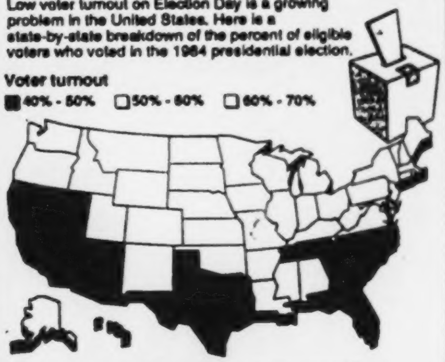
(Numbers in thousands)

Race, Hispanic origin, sex, and age	All persons	Reported registered		Reported voted		Reported that they did not vote[1]				
								Not registered		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Total	Registered	Total[2]	Not a U.S. citizen	Do not know and not reported on registration
BLACK										
Both sexes	19,692	12,700	64.5	10,144	51.5	9,548	2,557	6,991	730	1,522
18 to 20 years	1,543	662	42.9	429	27.8	1,114	232	882	74	165
21 to 24 years	2,024	1,114	55.1	820	40.5	1,204	294	910	80	201
25 to 34 years	5,262	3,045	57.9	2,200	41.8	3,062	845	2,217	258	442
35 to 44 years	3,778	2,566	67.9	2,135	56.5	1,643	432	1,211	175	248
45 to 54 years	2,548	1,902	74.6	1,639	64.3	909	263	646	63	160
55 to 64 years	2,114	1,574	74.5	1,382	65.4	731	192	540	51	151
65 to 74 years	1,526	1,205	78.9	1,060	69.5	466	144	322	29	100
75 years and over	896	632	70.5	478	53.4	418	154	264	-	55
Male	8,777	5,344	60.9	4,233	48.2	4,544	1,111	3,432	396	820
18 to 20 years	713	280	39.3	183	25.6	530	97	433	53	87
21 to 24 years	942	492	52.1	354	37.6	588	138	450	53	103
25 to 34 years	2,379	1,266	53.2	888	37.3	1,491	379	1,112	135	257
35 to 44 years	1,682	1,038	61.7	846	50.3	837	193	644	96	141
45 to 54 years	1,132	798	70.6	691	61.0	441	108	333	30	100
55 to 64 years	953	717	75.2	633	66.4	320	84	236	21	66
65 to 74 years	650	513	78.9	445	68.5	205	68	137	9	49
75 years and over	326	240	73.5	194	59.4	132	46	86	-	18
Female	10,915	7,356	67.4	5,911	54.2	5,004	1,445	3,559	335	702
18 to 20 years	831	382	46.0	247	29.7	584	135	449	21	78
21 to 24 years	1,082	623	57.5	466	43.0	617	157	460	28	99
25 to 34 years	2,883	1,779	61.7	1,312	45.5	1,571	466	1,104	122	185
35 to 44 years	2,096	1,528	72.9	1,289	61.5	806	239	568	79	107
45 to 54 years	1,416	1,103	77.9	948	66.9	468	155	313	34	60
55 to 64 years	1,161	857	73.9	749	64.6	411	108	303	31	85
65 to 74 years	876	692	79.0	615	70.2	261	77	184	20	51
75 years and over	570	392	68.8	284	49.9	286	108	178	-	37
HISPANIC[3]										
Both sexes	12,893	4,573	35.5	3,710	28.8	9,183	863	8,320	4,815	660
18 to 20 years	1,104	270	24.5	171	15.5	933	99	834	362	81
21 to 24 years	1,557	404	25.9	276	17.7	1,281	128	1,154	667	72
25 to 34 years	3,959	1,182	29.9	940	23.7	3,020	243	2,777	1,693	213
35 to 44 years	2,626	1,005	38.3	841	32.0	1,785	164	1,621	976	123
45 to 54 years	1,569	629	40.1	538	34.3	1,031	91	940	583	81
55 to 64 years	1,218	643	52.8	553	45.4	665	91	574	340	42
65 to 74 years	537	301	56.1	269	50.1	268	32	235	90	31
75 years and over	325	139	42.8	124	38.1	201	15	186	105	17
Male	6,398	2,143	33.5	1,753	27.4	4,645	390	4,255	2,547	366
18 to 20 years	568	124	21.7	87	15.3	481	37	445	182	59
21 to 24 years	846	176	20.7	111	13.2	735	64	671	435	41
25 to 34 years	1,997	552	27.6	444	22.3	1,552	107	1,445	902	123
35 to 44 years	1,309	460	35.1	379	28.9	930	81	849	543	55
45 to 54 years	724	292	40.3	260	36.0	464	32	432	272	45
55 to 64 years	562	312	55.5	266	47.3	296	46	250	143	19
65 to 74 years	270	159	58.8	140	52.0	129	18	111	39	17
75 years and over	122	70	57.4	65	53.1	57	5	52	32	8
Female	6,495	2,431	37.4	1,958	30.1	4,538	473	4,065	2,268	293
18 to 20 years	535	147	27.4	84	15.7	451	62	389	180	22
21 to 24 years	711	228	32.1	165	23.2	546	64	483	232	32
25 to 34 years	1,962	631	32.1	495	25.2	1,467	136	1,332	791	90
35 to 44 years	1,317	545	41.4	462	35.1	855	83	772	433	68
45 to 54 years	844	337	39.9	277	32.8	567	60	507	311	36
55 to 64 years	655	332	50.6	287	43.7	369	45	324	196	23
65 to 74 years	267	143	53.4	129	48.2	138	14	124	52	14
75 years and over	203	69	34.0	59	29.1	144	10	134	74	9

- Represents zero. [1] Includes persons recorded as "did not vote," "don't know," and "not reported" on voting. [2] In addition to those reported as "not registered," total includes those "not a U.S. citizen," and "do not know" and "not reported" on registration. [3] Hispanics may be of any race.

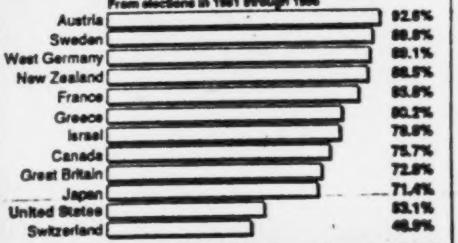
Getting out the vote in the United States

Low voter turnout on Election Day is a growing problem in the United States. Here is a state-by-state breakdown of the percent of eligible voters who voted in the 1984 presidential election.


Voter turnout
▨ 40% - 50%
☐ 50% - 60%
☐ 60% - 70%

Voter turnout in other democracies

From elections in 1981 through 1986



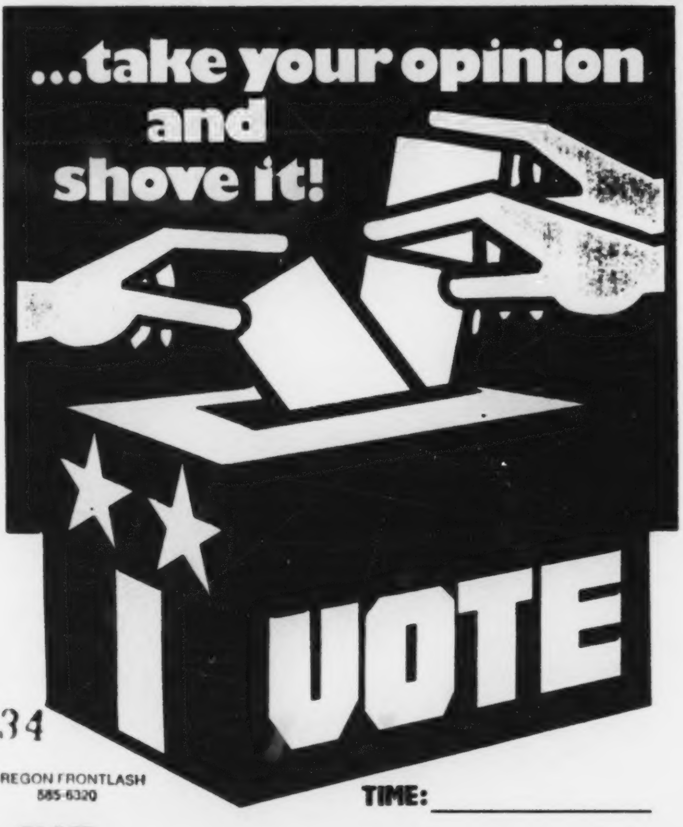
SOURCES: Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, Congressional Quarterly

Knight-Ridder Chicago Tribune News/JUDY TREIBLE

IN SOUTH AFRICA, PEOPLE ARE DYING TO VOTE.

ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS REGISTER.

REGISTER
'88
MAKE IT A
CLASS ACT


...take your opinion
and
shove it!
I VOTE

OREGON FRONTLASH
585-6320

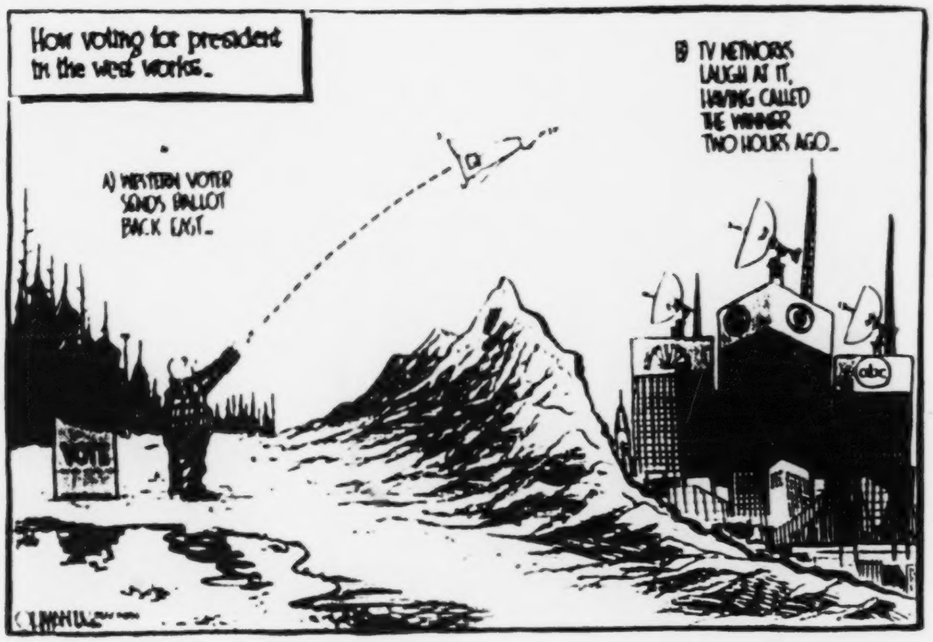
TIME: ____________

PLACE: ______________________________

UNIFORM POLL CLOSING AND VOTER PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN STATES

Another problem unique to us who live on the West Coast is that often in a national election the winner is predicted by the media long before we have gone to the polls. The three hour difference between here and New York means that it is 11:00 p.m. in New York at the time the polls close in Oregon. Western voters often feel there is no point in voting when the winner has already been decided. This hurts local and statewide races and our ability to participate in our government.

Some politicians have suggested that we need a law making all polls in the nation close simultaneously. This would mean an earlier closing time in the West and possibly a later one in the East. It could also be coupled with a commitment from the television networks not to make predictions in national elections until after the polls are closed.


How voting for president in the west works_
A) WESTERN VOTER SENDS BALLOT BACK EAST_
B) TV NETWORKS LAUGH AT IT, HAVING CALLED THE WINNER TWO HOURS AGO_
VOTE
abc
TMAHLLE

TV won't pick winner early

But voters in West can figure it out themselves

Gannett News Service

The TV networks vow to refrain from declaring a presidential winner until after the polls close on the West Coast.

But there are ways of looking at the returns from early-closing states in the Eastern and Central time zones to figure out pretty much who's going to come out on top.

Keep in mind that it takes 270 electoral votes to win. As state winners are declared, put the number of electoral votes that state has under the name of the candidate who comes out on top. Add them up to see how each is doing.

Here are the key states to watch:

■ **Massachusetts (13 electoral votes):** Home for Democrat Michael Dukakis. If he loses it to Republican George Bush, or just squeaks by, look out. He's in trouble.

■ **Connecticut (8 electoral votes):** Bush has a lead, but Dukakis is a neighbor. A Bush win signals trouble for Dukakis elsewhere; a Dukakis victory indicates that his rally may be more than just talk.

■ **New York (36 electoral votes):** Tossup. Dukakis needs it to win. A Bush victory portends bad news in other industrial states. A Dukakis victory means that he's holding his Democratic base.

■ **Pennsylvania (25 electoral votes):** Tossup. Another state that Dukakis needs to win. If he does, he could be doing well in Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Missouri also and may have a fighting chance. If Bush wins, Dukakis' hopes get dim.

■ **New Jersey (16 electoral votes):** Look here for signs of Bush slippage. He should win by 8-10 points. If Dukakis makes it close, or wins it, he's probably doing well in other industrial states and could have a chance.

■ **North Carolina (13), Kentucky (9), Tennessee (11), Georgia (12), Arkansas (6):** Check these out for signs that Bush's southern base may not be as strong as touted. Dukakis victories in two or more of them would indicate something's afoot. Hang on to your hats.

■ **Texas (29 electoral votes):** Home base for Bush. If he loses it, he's probably got trouble elsewhere in the South and may be falling apart.

■ **Ohio (23 electoral votes):** Bush has a lead, but Dukakis needs an upset. If Bush can't hold on here, and Pennsylvania and New York have already gone for Dukakis, the Duke is in the ball game.

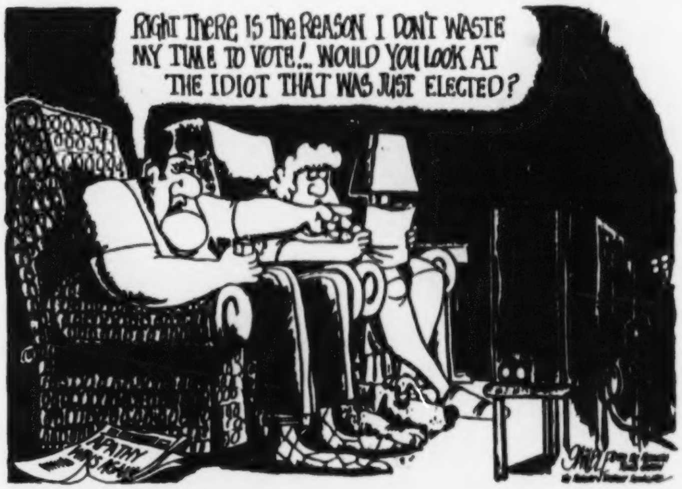
■ **Michigan (20 electoral votes):** Bush has a slim lead, but Dukakis was coming on strong in final days.

■ **Illinois (24 electoral votes):** Tossup. A Bush victory means that the end is near for the Duke.

If after all the Eastern, Southern and Central states are in, Dukakis has more than 200 electoral votes, Bush will be scared out of his mind. Returns from the Western states will become key, and California probably will determine who wins.

But if Dukakis has fewer than 150 electoral votes at this point, go to bed.

--Statesman-Journal, November 6, 1988


RIGHT THERE IS THE REASON I DON'T WASTE MY TIME TO VOTE!.. WOULD YOU LOOK AT THE IDIOT THAT WAS JUST ELECTED?
APATHY

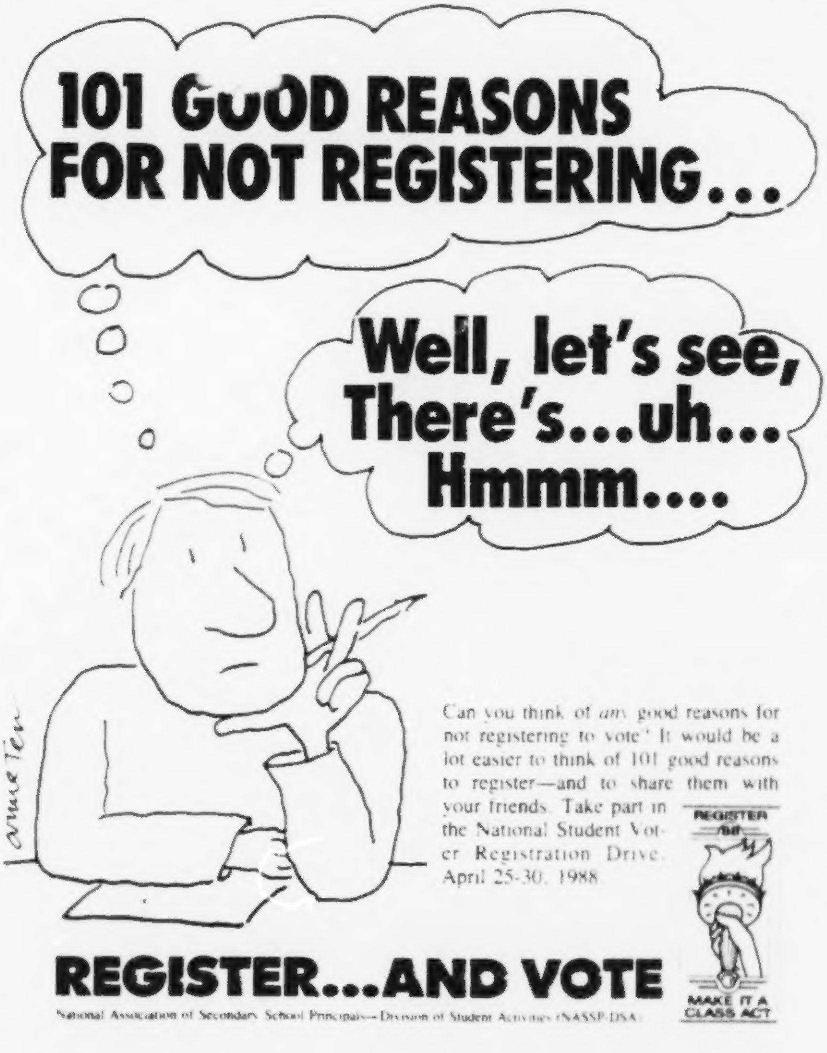
Ed Gamble. Reprinted with permission.

VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTER PARTICIPATION

Some people don't vote because they fail to register in time before an election. They may not know how to register; they may move and forget to reregister; they may forget to register and miss the deadline. Half the states in the United States still do not allow registration by mail. Some states have registration deadlines that are two months before an election--even though studies show that voter interest heightens in the last month prior to an election.

We are fortunate in Oregon that we have registration by mail and a registration deadline of only twenty days before an election.

Be sure you register to vote as soon as you are eighteen. Encourage your friends to register too. You'll be glad you did!


101 GOOD REASONS FOR NOT REGISTERING...
Well, let's see, There's...uh... Hmmm....
REGISTER...AND VOTE
REGISTER '88
MAKE IT A CLASS ACT

Can you think of *any* good reasons for not registering to vote? It would be a lot easier to think of 101 good reasons to register—and to share them with your friends. Take part in the National Student Voter Registration Drive, April 25-30, 1988.

National Association of Secondary School Principals—Division of Student Activities (NASSP-DSA)

VOTER PARTICIPATION AND SPECIAL INTERESTS

Citizens often don't realize that there are special interests who count on people not voting! They are hoping that only their supporters will come to the polls and everyone else will stay home.

Some people believe it is better for only the people who care about and study the candidates and issues to vote. Read the following quotation by the late Senator Sam Ervin:

> "I'm not going to shed any real or political or crocodile tears if people don't care enough to vote. I don't believe in making it easy for apathetic, lazy people. I'd be extremely happy if nobody in the United States voted except for the people who thought about the issues and made up their own minds and wanted to vote. No one else who votes is going to contribute anything but statistics, and I don't care that much for statistics."
>
> --Hadley, p. 105

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION/ESSAY

1. How do you feel about Senator Ervin's statement?
2. In Oregon, we use vote-by-mail in order to encourage larger numbers of people to vote. Would special interests support the vote-by-mail process? Why or why not?
3. Do you think that uniform poll closing time is a good idea? How could it be written to balance the needs to working people to vote in the evening in Oregon with the needs of people to be able to hear some results of the election before they go to bed in Boston?
4. Do you think it would be possible to control the media reporting of election results in order to allow for the maximum voter interest and participation? Explain your answer.
5. What voter registration practices allow for higher voter participation? Do you think Oregon should return to registration up until election day?
6. What are some solutions to the 18-21-year-old "habit of neglect?" How could your school organize a voter registration drive?
7. How would you respond to non-voter concerns about being powerless, government being too complex to understand, and the lack of caring of public officials? What can we do as a nation to convince our citizens of the importance of voting?

REGISTER AND VOTE

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